

The Forgotten Schools



The Baha'is and Modern Education in Iran, 1899–1934

Soli Shahvar

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1899–1934

SOLI SHAHVAR

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*In memory of
my beloved father,
Shukrullah Khan,
who was a man of ideals and morals,
and believed in
tolerance, justice and peace*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Alliance Française
AIU	Alliance Israélite Universelle
BPT	Baha'i Publishing Trust
BWC	Baha'i World Centre, Haifa, Israel
BWCA	Baha'i World Centre Archives, Haifa, Israel
CMJ	The Churches Mission to the Jews
CMS	The Church Missionary Society of London
<i>EIr</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
FO	Foreign Office Series, National Archives, London, United Kingdom
LSA	Local Spiritual Assembly
MAMA	Mu'assasih-yi 'Aali-yi Ma'arif-i Amri, Iran
MMMA	Mu'assasih-yi Milli-yi Matbu'at-i Amri, Tehran, Iran
NSA	National Spiritual Assembly
OPP	The Orol Platt Papers, USNBA
UHJ	The Universal House of Justice, Haifa, Israel
USNBA	United States National Baha'i Archives, Wilmette, Illinois

TRANSLITERATION, CALENDARS AND DATES

The transliteration system used in this book is based on the guidelines set by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*, but without diacritical marks.

Place names with accepted English spellings and personal names of prominent political leaders or cultural figures are spelled in accordance with English norms. Words that appear in the English dictionary are not treated as technical terms requiring transliteration.

Hebrew words are phonetically transliterated.

Four types of non-Gregorian calendars and dates are used in this book: *Badi'* (the Baha'i calendar, marked by 'BE' [Baha'i Era]); *Hijri* (the Islamic or lunar calendar, marked by 'AH'); *Shamsi* (the Iranian or solar calendar, marked by 's.');

and Julian (not marked). The equivalent Gregorian date follows every non-Gregorian one. Wherever a partial date (i.e., the month and year) or full date (month, day and year) is specified (from which it is clear which calendar is indicated), no marks are used.

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 The framed Baha'i inscription 'Ya Baha' al-Abha' (O Thou Glory of Glories) can be seen in the centre of the forefront. © BWC.

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Responsibility for any mistakes is, of course, entirely mine.

PREFACE

This book is about the Baha'i schools in Iran. The term 'Baha'i schools' means 'schools owned, established and run by Baha'is'. Unlike the schools of other religious minorities in Iran, the Baha'i schools did not include in their curriculum any religious studies; religion was taught separately to Baha'i students on Fridays, either in the schools (when they were in recess), or in other buildings and institutions elsewhere in the Baha'i community.

In terms of time, the book focuses on the late Qajar and early Pahlavi period (1899–1934). In this study I have endeavoured to answer three fundamental questions: first, why did Muzaffar al-Din Shah – who was known to be a devoted Shi'i, and whose father, especially after an assassination attempt in 1852, had persecuted Babis and Baha'is since the mid-nineteenth century – permit the opening, in 1899, of the first Baha'i school in Tehran, followed later by many other schools throughout Iran? What made him and his government potentially place their own rule in severe danger by risking their relations with the conservative Shi'i '*ulama*' (religious scholars and teachers) and the masses who followed them, who regarded the Babis-Baha'is as apostates (and therefore persecuted them)? Secondly, what possible reasons did the nationalist, pro-modern, pro-secular and anticlerical Riza Shah Pahlavi, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, have for closing those schools in 1934? And third, what role did the Baha'i schools play in the advent of modern education in Iran? This study attempts to answer these and other related questions mainly through examining the personalities of Muzaffar al-Din Shah Qajar and Riza Shah Pahlavi; their policies; the existing socio-economic, political, religious and intellectual forces and pressures; the domestic, regional and international circumstances of the period under study; and to do so through the prism of the Baha'i faith, the importance which it attaches to education, and the characteristics of the Baha'i schools, which not only educated Baha'is, but also many non-Baha'is. These schools helped to promote modern education in Iran, but also were important for the global spread of the Baha'i faith.

It is argued here that although many factors could have been at work, the decision to permit the opening of Baha'i schools in Iran was above all due to the need to meet the growing demand for modern education, a demand which the Qajar state (and probably also the first Pahlavi state, at least during its earlier years) found difficult and even impossible to meet. The higher standard of education in the Baha'i schools, which opened

first in Tehran and later in other cities, towns and villages where there were relatively large Baha'i communities, soon drew people from non-Baha'i families to send their children to these schools. In general, most of these non-Baha'i families were Shi'i; but in certain towns and cities – such as Hamadan, Kashan and Yazd – most non-Baha'i students seem to have come from non-Shi'i families, with Jewish students coming mainly from the former two cities, and Zoroastrian students mainly from the latter. Thus, the desire for modern education surpassed the prevalent hatred towards the Baha'is among large sections of the population.

The Baha'i schools flourished throughout Iran. Their reputation for excellence brought many influential and important Iranian families, including the Pahlavi family, to send some of their children to study at the Baha'i schools. In addition, varying numbers of non-Baha'i families from the middle and lower classes and areas in which these schools operated sent their children to the Baha'i schools, mainly because compared with the other local schools – whether run by clerics, the state, or other religious minorities and even foreigners – they generally provided a better education. Yet, in December 1934, Riza Shah Pahlavi decided to close all Baha'i schools. Here it is argued that although a number of factors could have been involved, the main reason for this was probably that Riza Shah regarded the Iranian Baha'is as a group of disloyal citizens, whose loyalty was given not to the nation-state, but rather to a supranational organization and leadership.

Through the study of the Baha'i schools – the year founded, the identity of the founder/s, the staff employed therein, the type of school (boys/girls, elementary/intermediate/high), the location and size, the total number of students and the number of non-Baha'i students, as well as the curriculum, teaching accessories, learning facilities, examinations and other details – the book aims to provide a database: first, to understand what led these schools to be known, if not as the best, then at least as among the best schools in Iran at the time of their operation; second, to analyse the role of these schools in the advent of modern education in Iran; and third, to provide data for future studies.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

A wide range of sources has been consulted in the writing of this book. Generally, these sources can be categorized as primary and secondary, and characterized as Baha'i and non-Baha'i sources. Most of the Baha'i sources were found in the archives and library of the Baha'i World Centre (BWC) in Haifa, and some others were located at the US National Baha'i Archives (USNBA) in Wilmette, Illinois. Along with other Baha'i primary sources (such as private papers, memoirs, newspapers, chronicles, books, etc.), they provide not only a unique window into the fascinating history of the Baha'is of Iran and adjacent areas, but also a fresh look at a variety of issues in the modern history of Iran. Thus, while the Baha'i primary sources offer a mass of fascinating and novel information and data concerning the Baha'i schools, their staff, students, curriculum, and so on, at the same time they throw new light on a variety of topics, including (among others) the attitudes of the state, the Shi'i clergy and the majority Shi'i populations towards questions of modernization, education and religious minorities; the relations between the state and the Shi'i clergy, and between both of these and the Baha'i community; the competition between the various minority and private schools in Iran over modern education; and the

extent of Baha'i influence (both by individuals and by ideas) within Iranian society and its contribution to the process of the modernization of Iran (particularly modern thought and education).

The continued lack of official recognition and the antagonism shown by the Iranian state and the Shi'i clerics and people towards the Babis and Baha'is since the inception of the Babi-Baha'i faith in the mid-1840s, have produced an abnormal situation as far as the non-Baha'i historiography of the Baha'i faith and community in Iran is concerned. The Iranian state has either totally disregarded this community in the official documentation, or has prevented access to documents in which reference is made to them. Furthermore, the continued uncompromising and intolerant attitude of successive Iranian governments towards the Babis and Baha'is since the middle of the nineteenth century seems to have discouraged not only scholars in Iran, but also the great majority of those outside it, from undertaking research on the Iranian Baha'is, not to mention any positive role Baha'is might have played in the modern history of Iran, or any aspect of it, such as modern education. As a result, Baha'i sources and scholars are the main sources for the study of Baha'i history in Iran.

However, for foreign concerns, especially the British and Russian governments, the Babi-Baha'i faith and community in Iran (and the adjacent areas) was an interesting phenomenon about which they knew very little and therefore aspired to know more. Being fully aware of the sensitivities of the Iranian state, and of the Shi'i clergy and people towards the Babis-Baha'is on the one hand, and the growing spread and influence of Babis and Baha'is in all levels of Iranian society on the other, they ordered their representatives in Iran and the adjacent areas to carefully (and cautiously) collect information about this community and faith. Thus, some important Baha'i-related documents were found in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, and in a number of archives in Russia (the Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk and Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv in St Petersburg, and the Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv and Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sovremennoi Politicheskoi Istorii in Moscow).

A major difference between the Baha'i and non-Baha'i primary sources is that while the former category of sources makes a clear distinction between Babis and Baha'is, the non-Baha'i primary sources usually fail to do so. Despite the fact that by the late 1860s the vast majority of the Babis accepted the Baha'i faith (and thus became Baha'is), these sources continued to refer to both groups as 'Babis' well into the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.² Given this fact, this study regards any mention of 'Babi' in the non-Baha'i primary sources during the period under study to mean 'Baha'i', unless it is clearly understood from the context that the reference was to 'Babi' (or 'Azali'), in which case the latter term is used.

As far as the general literature on modern education in Iran is concerned, up to the present the overwhelming majority of academically authored books and articles have failed even to acknowledge the fact that there were any Baha'i schools in Iran, let alone to study them. It is this fact that brought me to label the Baha'i schools in Iran as 'the Forgotten Schools', for their existence has been invisible not only in Iranian official publications, but also in almost all the studies written by non-Baha'is, leaving only a limited number of short studies and memoirs written by Baha'is to record their existence. A survey of the book literature on modern education in Iran during the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries basically reveals only four studies – three in English and one in Persian. As far as the three in English are concerned, one was written by Reza Arasteh (1969),³ and the other two were by David Menashri (1992)⁴ and Monica Ringer (2001).⁵ However, in none of these studies – which cover either the entire period (Arasteh and Menashri) or the earlier part of the period (Ringer) under study in this book – is there any reference whatsoever to Baha'i schools. The first of the three, by Arasteh, is a general study of education in Iran and spans just over a century (1850–1960). In this work Arasteh follows the main developments in the different categories of education (primary, secondary, higher, vocational, physical, etc.) in Iran, and also provides a short survey of the missionary educational activity therein; but there is no mention of Baha'i schools. The same is true of Ringer's study. Although it makes a very brief mention of *Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat* (the Tarbiyat School)⁶ – the leading Baha'i school in Tehran, and one of the best modern schools in the capital and in all of Iran at the time – it provides no data about this school, nor does it identify it as Baha'i. The main focus of Menashri's book is on the higher education level in Iran, a level at which no Baha'i institutions existed since it was at the pre-school, elementary, intermediate and, to a much lesser extent, secondary levels of education that the Baha'is established schools. However, no mention of Baha'i schools is made in his coverage of pre-academic schooling during the later Qajar and early Pahlavi periods.⁷ As for the book written in Persian by Huma Natiq,⁸ its main concern is modern foreign schools, particularly the French ones, and it too fails to mention the existence of any Baha'i schools in its discussion of minority schools in Iran.

A wider search on modern education in Iran reveals a few more studies, and on more specific subjects. These include either a short survey of education in Iran,⁹ or detailed studies either on specific schools,¹⁰ specific programmes,¹¹ or specific aspects of modern education,¹² or on its social and cultural effects,¹³ but none of them concerns or even touches upon the Baha'i schools. This is also the case with the very detailed entry on 'education' in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, with contributions from a long list of scholars.¹⁴ Surprisingly, a collection of documents on girls' schools in Iran from the Constitutional to the Pahlavi period, edited by Suhayla Turabi Farsani,¹⁵ does mention the names of a few Baha'i schools,¹⁶ and even provides some very basic and inadequate data, but still fails to identify them as Baha'i schools. However, given that Turabi Farsani's study was published in Iran in 1999 by the Records Research Centre of the Iran National Archives Organization (*Pazhuhishkadih-yi Asnad-i Saziman-i Asnad-i Milli-yi Iran*), and given the open and public anti-Baha'i policies of the clerical regime in Iran, this failure is 'understandable'. In other words, in the circumstances that have prevailed in Iran since the establishment of an Islamic Republic in 1979, it is most unlikely that either the editor or the publisher of this book would have mentioned the names of those Baha'i schools, even if they had been aware of any historic indication that this is what they actually were.

The same explanation would also apply to the book written by Huma Natiq, or any book or article published in Iran. Given the almost total absence of studies on the subject and the failure of the few existing studies to mention the existence of Baha'i schools in Iran, it seems that one could have become aware of their existence only by knowing about the religious affiliation of the people involved, and/or through consulting Baha'i material. However, even an indication or a mention of those Baha'i schools in Iranian official documents, like those collected by Turabi Farsani, is ample proof that Baha'i schools did

exist in Iran, and that they were officially recognized by the state, although not as Baha'i schools. This failure to acknowledge the schools is probably an attempt by successive Iranian governments from the mid-nineteenth century onwards to downplay and even erase the role played by the Baha'i community, whether in education or any other field.

In Iran, as in other Islamic countries, Baha'is have faced many hardships that are a direct result of their religious beliefs. From an Islamic point of view the Baha'is could not be recognized as 'People of the Book' simply because it would mean that the Prophet Muhammad could not be the 'Seal of the Prophets' (*Khatim al-Anbiya*).¹⁷ As a result, no Islamic country or leader, no matter how strong or liberal, has dared to recognize them officially; and this is particularly true in Shi'i Iran, where anti-Baha'i feelings were often expressed in the form of harsh persecutions and massacres, led by both the state and the 'ulama'.

Thus, as far as Iranian official studies on the Baha'i faith and community are concerned, this intentional oversight can be understood, especially in light of the political atmosphere in Iran since 1979. But one then needs to explain this oversight in the academic and non-official literature on modern education in Iran. After all, how can any study on modern education in Iran, which, among other things, concerns the modern schools established by the religious minorities in Iran, fail to mention those of the biggest religious minority in Iran, namely the Baha'is? Were the authors, in their discussion of the educational systems run by the other religious minorities, not concerned with the question of where Baha'i children studied? In order to answer these questions one needs to speculate, and a few possible explanations come to mind.

The first possible explanation, to which brief reference has already been made, may be related to the openly declared anti-Baha'i policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the autocratic and undemocratic nature of the regime. Scholars living in Iran could endanger their livelihoods (or even their lives) were they to publish anything positive (or that could be interpreted as positive) about the Baha'is. As far as the Pahlavi period is concerned, it seems that despite the improved circumstances for the Iranian Baha'is compared with the pre- and post-Pahlavi periods, as well as the secular, nationalist and modernist policies of the Pahlavis and their antagonism towards the clerical establishment, the Pahlavis were still unable to act to give official recognition to the Baha'i faith as a legitimate religion. Such an act would have had disastrous repercussions for them, for it would have conveyed implicit acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Baha'u'llah's prophetic claim. It would thereby have challenged the accepted position of the Prophet Muhammad as the 'Seal of the Prophets', and consequently, in the eyes of the Shi'i clerics and believers, would have undermined the legitimate right of the Pahlavis to rule over them as Shi'i kings.

Thus, it seems that the Pahlavis preferred unofficially to allow the Baha'is to live their lives in relative freedom, although officially they adopted a policy of ignoring them and the role they played in different areas.¹⁸ If the Pahlavis had such a policy of ignoring the Baha'is, the clerical regime that ended monarchical rule in Iran went even further, attempting to diminish their presence, particularly because of the regime's vigorous anti-Baha'i agenda and renewed persecution. If writing objectively about Baha'is was considered uncomfortable under the Pahlavis, under the Islamic Republic of Iran the cost could be extremely high. Naturally, this fact has discouraged non-Baha'i scholars living in Iran, or with family and relatives there, from undertaking objective research on the Baha'is.

As for scholars who live outside Iran, the cost for them could mean either being prevented from accessing research material in Iran, or even being totally barred from entry into Iran or from cooperation with academic institutions there. With such heavy consequences at stake, it seems that the majority of non-Baha'i scholars tend to diminish, minimize or totally disregard the Baha'i element in any relevant study, and if they do mention it, they usually tend to limit themselves to brief repetitions of already-known facts concerning the emergence of the Babi movement, and the persecution of Babis and Baha'is in Iran.¹⁹ Firuz Kazemzadeh, the renowned Baha'i scholar of Iran and Russia, has recently expounded on this issue. He claims that in serving the shah and the Shi'i clerical establishment, nineteenth-century official Iranian historians laid the foundations of many misrepresentations concerning the Babis and Baha'is that were to be endlessly repeated by others, including Western scholars such as Edward G. Browne, whose studies on the Babis-Baha'is have been used by many scholars after him writing on the subject.²⁰

Secondly, since Iranian official documents do not specify the religious affiliation of the Baha'i schools, there would be no reason to assume that they were Baha'i. It seems that only by asking 'what about the schools of the Baha'is in Iran?' and then consulting Baha'i sources – exactly as has been done in this study – is there a chance of arriving at a sound conclusion about the communal affiliations of those schools, and of gathering information about them. Because of systematic official disregard most of the Baha'i schools that operated in Iran between 1899 and 1934 were not mentioned at all, while the very few that were mentioned were left without their religious affiliation.²¹

Thus, this intentional official disregard creates a large gap in the research material, which can to a large extent be covered by using Baha'i sources, and to a lesser extent by using other sources. Even so, in many places no source material was found to answer certain questions, thus leaving no alternative other than to speculate or provide circumstantial evidence. Indeed, one of the major contributions of this study lies not only in bringing to light the existence of Baha'i schools in Iran and providing information, data and analysis concerning them, but also in raising legitimate questions. I believe that in time, as more source material (either Baha'i or other) is located, such questions, or at least some of them, will be answered without doubt or speculation.

Third, there is to a large extent a lack of awareness as to the possible contribution of Baha'i sources to the study of modern Iran. Apart from a few Baha'i scholars of Iran who make use of that material, it seems that it has become an accepted practice for most non-Baha'i scholars not to use Baha'i sources,²² in spite of the fact that they are written mostly in Persian and contain information not only on the Baha'i faith and community in Iran, but also on various aspects of Iran's modern history.²³ However, one has to admit that Baha'i primary sources, especially those in the BWC archives and library in Haifa, are not easily accessible to all, although a special effort is being made by the BWC and by Baha'i scholars worldwide to make more Baha'i sources, both primary and secondary, available online.²⁴

The question of the possible contribution of Baha'i sources to the study of modern Iran also raises another question, this time concerning the Baha'i community in Iran in general: how can the history of a country like Iran, or the history of any particular aspect of it – be it education, economy, culture, etc. – be told, studied and analysed without the slightest mention of the Baha'is, some of whom played important roles in those fields?²⁵ After all, Babis and Baha'is, unlike Jews and Christians, could be found (at least up to

the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran) in positions of authority in such areas as public administration and bureaucracy, education, media, commerce, etc.²⁶ Furthermore, and in spite of their most advanced reformist thought, none of the early leaders of the Baha'i faith have been mentioned as intellectuals anywhere in studies on the intellectual history of modern Iran. It is a fact that in mid-nineteenth century Iran and the Middle East they were already expressing such advanced ideas as globalization, collective security, etc. – ideas that only began to be discussed and implemented much later, in the twentieth century.

As far as the literature written by Baha'is on the Baha'i schools is concerned, up to the late 1980s it was limited mainly to the memoirs of Baha'is who had either studied or taught at these schools.²⁷ However, more recent academic studies on the subject written by Baha'i scholars²⁸ have attempted to dig deeper in order to collect more material on the schools – who founded them, when and where they were founded, what was included in their curricula, who taught and who studied in them, and so on. Even so, no systematic and comprehensive attempt has yet been made to place them in the general Iranian (rather than mainly Baha'i) historical context; to analyse the role played by the Baha'i schools in the process of reform in Iran in general, and modern education in particular; or to study the range of the likely reasons for allowing such schools to open at all (in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries) and then to close (in December 1934). The aim of this book is to try to bridge this gap and ameliorate this unsatisfactory situation in the study of modern education in Iran, in order to contribute to the better understanding of the role played by the Baha'i community in Iran towards its modernization and progress.

The scarcity of non-Baha'i sources on the Baha'is of Iran was the first major obstacle in writing a history of the Baha'i schools in Iran. In this category of sources, only bits and pieces were found concerning the Baha'is, with much of the scant information being essentially repetitive. This necessitated speculation, raising possibilities and suggesting probable explanations when attempting to analyse and look into the causes of Baha'i-related issues when non-Baha'is were concerned. This lack of non-Baha'i sources meant that a considerable part of the source material had to be located, gathered and/or generated from a new category of sources, namely Baha'i sources that were quite new to me, as I believe they are to many other scholars on modern Iran.

Finding and locating such sources was the second major obstacle, and success in overcoming it served only to create the third problem, namely becoming familiar with an entirely new set of terms and vocabulary. Another obstacle was to find a proper narrative structure into which all the scattered information, once gathered, could be placed, while the compilation of data for the various tables was extremely time-consuming. None of these and other obstacles could have been overcome without the generous assistance of the staff of the BWC in Haifa.

STRUCTURE AND SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

This book is intended to concentrate on what has been overlooked in the existing research on modern education and schools in Iran. Thus, except for a survey of education in Iran in general, and of modern schools therein in particular, the main focus of this study is the background to, and causes for, the establishment of modern Baha'i schools in Iran as

well as their closure. Thus, for example, no general theories of education have been discussed in this study because this has already been widely discussed elsewhere.²⁹ Likewise, I consciously refrained from entering into theories of modernization, westernization, etc., nor did I choose to discuss the 'modernization dilemma' in Iran, namely how to use Western institutions as models for Iranian modernization while guarding against loss of culture, authenticity and identity.³⁰

In the Introduction I have attempted to provide a concise historical background of Iran during the Qajar period, characterizing the whole period as one of change and transformation. Two separate movements were among the core elements that justify such a characterization. These were the Babi movement, out of which developed the Baha'i faith, and the movement for reform. Although seemingly separate, these two movements had much in common in terms of promoting reform and modernization. One major common ground was education. Thus, while providing a short sketch of these two movements, the Introduction aims to explain how they helped shape the development of modern education and schools in Qajar Iran.

Another major focus of the Introduction is the role of education in the reformist thought of secular Iranians such as Malkum Khan, Talibuf Tabrizi and many others, as well as in the thought of their contemporary Baha'i intellectuals, namely Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha – the early leaders of the Baha'i faith. Their ideas had much in common with the ideas of the secular reformers, and it could be that they nourished and influenced each other in spite of their differences: one group was secular and concerned with Iran, while the other was religious and concerned with the world and mankind. It should be noted that as far as the period under study is concerned, the largest Baha'i community was still in Iran.

The decision to characterize Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha as 'intellectuals' is entirely mine, and it is solely due to their innovative, progressive and reformist ideas and from the point of view of a non-Baha'i. Since the Baha'i faith was not recognized in Iran, and neither Baha'u'llah as a messenger of God nor 'Abdu'l-Baha as his successor, then I believe that they should have been categorized by their own Iranian contemporaries (mainly the educated, the reformists and the intellectuals), and later, by scholars of modern Iran, at least as 'intellectuals'. Surely, in the context of nineteenth-century Iran, the Middle East and the Islamic world (and to some extent even Europe) they were expressing advanced and progressive ideas, written in Persian and Arabic – ideas which, even if not accepted by non-Baha'is as 'heavenly messages', surely should have been recognized as 'modernist', 'novel' and 'reformist'. Compared to secular Iranian intellectuals of the time, such as Malkum Khan and Akhundzadieh, the ideas of Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha were much more advanced and progressive. As far as Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha are concerned, the fact that they did not publicly define themselves as intellectuals does not necessarily mean that they did not see themselves as such – apart, of course, from their main role as religious leaders. There is no doubt, however, that in the religious context, Baha'is follow their instructions because they believe Baha'u'llah to be a messenger from God (and therefore consider his writings the Word of God), and his son 'Abdu'l-Baha to be his successor, as he was appointed leader of the Baha'i community by Baha'u'llah himself. Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha saw themselves first and foremost as religious leaders; and the Baha'is see it a religious duty to act according to their teachings and pronouncements.

Chapter One sketches the development of education in Iran from earliest times to the end of the nineteenth century, which is the beginning of the period discussed in this book. It contrasts traditional schools with modern schools, religious schools with secular schools, and state schools with private schools. It also delves into the development of the foreign schools opened in Iran by various religious and cultural concerns (such as the Christian missions, the Alliance Française [AF] and the Alliance Israélite Universelle [AIU]) as well as those operated by the local recognized religious minorities (namely Christians – Armenian and Assyrian – as well as Zoroastrians and Jews). Early Baha'i attempts in the field of education are also discussed, as well as attempts by Shi'i individuals to introduce modern schools into the country. Thus, Chapters One and Two provide the historical, social, intellectual, religious, economic and cultural background necessary to understand why Baha'i schools fitted so well into Shi'i Iran at the end of the nineteenth century, and why, in the mid-1930s, from the state's point of view, they did not.

Chapter Two attempts to look into the possible reasons why a Shi'i monarch (Muzaffar al-Din Shah) was prepared to allow members of the most hated and persecuted minority in Iran at the time (namely, the Baha'is) to open schools, in spite of the obvious and open clerical and popular hatred towards them. In other words, what benefit could Baha'i schools have had for the new Qajar shah and his government, that it surpassed the dangers of a strong opposition to the regime? On the other hand, this chapter also looks into the likely reasons that brought the Baha'is themselves to endeavour to open modern schools at the turn of the century; in other words, why did the Baha'is believe that the circumstances were ripe for such an attempt, while being fully aware of the prevailing high level of anti-Baha'i feelings, sensitivities and prejudice among the local population?

Chapter Three is mainly concerned with portraying the high standards of education which Baha'i and other students received at the Baha'i schools they attended. Although it was expected that Baha'i children would attend the Baha'i schools, this chapter tries to explain what exactly it was that made these schools so attractive to some non-Baha'i families, many of whom were very influential and prominent, that they decided to send their children to study in them, notwithstanding the popular anti-Baha'i feelings current at the time.

By providing a panorama of cases in which opposition to the Baha'i schools was vociferously and bluntly expressed, Chapter Four attempts to describe the depth and extent of anti-Baha'i feelings in general, and towards the Baha'i schools in particular, feelings which were still current within Iranian society during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods. Even so, no matter how harsh and vocal, it was not the popular and usually clerical-led opposition that brought about the closure of the Baha'i schools; rather, it was the state.

The possible reasons that led a secular, anticlerical, reformist and modernizing monarch such as Riza Shah, who seemingly had much in common with some of the core principles of the Baha'i faith, to be the one who issued the order to close all Baha'i schools in Iran, are examined in Chapter Five. The chapter also tries to explain why – despite Riza Shah's uncompromising character and his resolve to crush those who did not abide by his policies of centralization and obedience to the state, and notwithstanding the fragile position of the Baha'is in Iran – the Baha'is finally chose to disregard previous warnings and to close their schools on a day not officially declared by the state as a

holiday, thereby giving the first Pahlavi state a reason to close them. The chapter attempts to answer these and other questions through the domestic, regional and international prisms.

The concluding chapter endeavours to explain the paradoxical situation in which it was a religious Shi'i monarch who had allowed Baha'is to establish schools in Iran, while it was a secular and anticlerical monarch – whose ideas of reform and modernization plans were supported, in principle, by the Baha'is – who ordered their closure.

The Appendix contains a number of tables aimed at providing the reader with various data on the Baha'i schools. Table 1 forms a database for the dozens of Baha'i schools known to have been established in Iran. The data comprises varied information about the schools, including name, identity of founder/s, year founded, staff, gender and number of students, grades, tuition, curriculum, teaching accessories, learning facilities, exams, etc. Table 2 provides similar data concerning a handful of Baha'i kindergartens. The main aim of Table 3 is to give an insight into the kind of non-Baha'i families who chose to send their children (or at least some of them) to Baha'i schools rather than to any other modern school, whether foreign or local. Part of the data and information on the Baha'i schools in these tables is based on the testimonies of a number of surviving former students, who were interviewed either by the author or by others.³¹ Although most valuable, these testimonies could contain some measure of inaccuracy given the advanced age and lapses in memory of the respondent.

In relation to the photographs, the copyright of which is held by the BWC, the information that accompanies them comes from individual donors.

The titles of the primary and secondary sources which are not in either English or French are translated in the bibliography.

My interest in the Iranian Baha'i community was aroused after attending the First International Conference on Modern Religions and Religious Movements in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and the Babi and Baha'i Faiths, which was held in Jerusalem in December 2000. Learning that the next conference would be in 2002 in Landegg, Switzerland, with education as its main theme, I decided to participate. I chose the Baha'i schools in Iran as the topic of my lecture. That presentation has since developed into the present book as well as a number of other presentations on a variety of relevant aspects which I have given in Israel and abroad, the last being the 2006 International Society for Iranian Studies Conference in London. As a historian of the Middle East in general and of modern Iran in particular, who carries out research on various subjects, I have encountered a number of studies in a variety of fields and on various topics in which Baha'is were quite extensively involved, but in these studies their role was unfortunately neglected.³² The field of modern education and schools is only one of those cases. This phenomenon, which is unique to Iran and the Middle East, has led me to start looking more deeply into the history of the Baha'i faith in Iran. When an opportunity arose for me to do research at the BWC, I took it. As a historian I was more interested in the historical aspects of the Baha'i faith, namely the history of the Baha'i community in Iran, than in its theological positions. I began to grow curious about the fact that the study of the Baha'i faith and the Baha'i communities throughout the Middle East in general, and

in particular in Iran, is still in its infancy, is almost exclusively written by Baha'i scholars, and deals mainly with theological aspects.

A basic question started to bother me: how can one study modern Iranian history (or major aspects of it) without even referring to the Baha'is – the largest religious minority in Iran – or without looking at any Baha'i material at all? The more Baha'i sources I consulted, the more I learned about modern Iranian history and was able better to understand what I already knew about it. This persuaded me to open a new field of interest and research. I hope that the present study will help others understand the richness of the Baha'i sources and their valuable contribution to the study of modern Iran, as well as the important role played by the Baha'i community and Baha'i individuals in the development and progress of modern Iran.

INTRODUCTION: EDUCATION IN THE REFORMIST THOUGHT OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRANIANS

REFORM IN QAJAR IRAN

The ascendance of the Qajars to the Iranian throne in 1796 marked the end of a long period of political instability that had characterized eighteenth-century Iran, and the beginning of a new era that was marked by change and transformation. This new era began with a shock: the military clashes with – and defeats by – Russia, one of the two Western powers bordering Iran, in 1804–13 and 1826–8. These early military defeats had an enduring humiliating effect in the shape of the treaties that formally ended them – those of Gulistan (1813) and Turkmanchai (1828) – and put in motion the process of change in Iran, which, in spite of periodic setbacks, generally moved forward during the nineteenth century. These defeats shocked the Iranians, mainly because they constituted Iran's first full and lengthy confrontation with the West. Through these conflicts, Iran's rulers and subjects alike experienced the West's power and might, and began gradually to comprehend the huge gap that had grown up between their country and the Western world over centuries of the most limited contact.

The military defeats by Russia shook the self-confidence of Iranian rulers (who regarded themselves as *Zillullah 'ala al-Arz*, or the 'Shadow of God on Earth'), and it was further shaken by more defeats at the hands of Iran's other neighbouring European power, British India, either indirectly (through British support of the Afghans in the first Herat Crisis in the mid-1830s), or directly (through British defeat of the Iranian army in the Anglo-Iranian War, 1856–7). These defeats by heretics also shook the belief and confidence that the Iranians had invested in their kings since pre-Islamic times (as possessing 'Heavenly Splendour' or *Farr-i Izadi*), and in their 'ulama', who represented God, the Prophet Muhammad and the Imams. It was the 'ulama's declaration of *jihad* (holy war) against the enemies of Islam that caused people to enlist in the war effort in order to protect Islam; but the repeated failure of jihad created doubts, and with those doubts appeared cracks in the strong trust and blind belief that people had in their political and religious leaders and in their faith. It was not a widespread phenomenon yet, for most of the people were illiterate and superstitious, and thus could be easily

manipulated by their leaders. Still, a small group of literate people began to question and doubt, though their number grew very slowly, in direct relation to the number of educated people.

It was this depressing situation that partly encouraged more Shi'i Iranians to await even more earnestly the return of the Twelfth Imam (or the *Mabdi*), a millennium after his disappearance (AH 260/873–4), and to welcome the coming of Sayyid Ali-Muhammad Shirazi, the Bab (whom they believed to be the gate to the Mahdi or the Mahdi himself) and his movement in AH 1260/1844.

The pressures for change from the outside were generated by the rise of industrial Europe, the thirst for new markets (from which raw materials could be imported and to which finished goods could be exported), and the struggle for mastery in Europe. These were, in turn, the result and by-products of the process of modernization in the West, which itself was the result of a new historiosophical movement at the end of the medieval period. This movement soon produced new developments in political, economic, social and cultural thought, represented by the theories of leading philosophers, such as David Hume (1711–1776), Adam Smith (1723–1790), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), Charles Darwin (1809–1882), Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) and many others. They produced new notions in different fields, such as humanism (which became the centre of gravity for modernization); capitalism (in economy); the acknowledgement of cultural negligence and the need to reform it; as well as 'bourgeoisie' (in sociology); and 'legitimate rule' based on notions such as 'the will of the people', 'national agreement', 'social charter', 'human rights', etc. (in politics) – notions that are meaningless outside the context of modernity. These philosophies and notions were instrumental in the modernization of the West, but at the same time it was this very modernization that also produced nationalism, industrialization, economic competition and imperialism.¹

By the mid-nineteenth century, the significant achievements of Europe in the areas of science and technology, capitalism and positivism had brought it to the enjoyment of a golden era. This European advancement triggered many non-Western reformers and reformist intellectuals to call for the imitation of the European model, and to equate 'civilization' with 'Western civilization.' In the Middle East, and due to the military defeats, reform was implemented first in the very area where that defeat was most felt, namely the army, but soon it moved into other fields, covering even the 'unthinkable' ones, such as religion (by producing reformist Islamic thought, and religious movements such as Mahdism in the Sudan and the Babi-Baha'i movement in Iran) and politics (by producing pro-constitutional and anti-despotic movements, such as in the Ottoman Empire and Iran).²

At first, Iran came to know the more negative and aggressive side of Western modernism. It was under the umbrella of the civilizing, developing and modernizing of traditional and premodern societies (while in reality the West sought to extend its imperialistic rule over the very same societies), that Iran encountered the West, became one of its markets and soon found itself in the midst of the European great power rivalry which spilled over into the Middle East. As already noted, this encounter was in its most violent form – war – as a result of which Iran gradually became another market for Western economic benefit, and a pawn in European strategic rivalries.

It was after this violent encounter that Iran came to witness the more positive and moderate side of Western modernism. It actually started by people asking 'what needs to

be done?’ – a question that was especially asked between and after the two wars and defeats at the hands of the Russians. The reality was extremely bitter for people such as ‘Abbas Mirza, Nayib al-Saltanih (1799–1833), the Iranian crown prince and governor of Azerbaijan, who, as the person responsible for the defence of Iran’s northern borders, closely witnessed and experienced the progress of Russia as well as the backwardness of Iran. It was these feelings that brought him to initiate reforms, and thus to begin the reformist period in Qajar Iran.

Although ‘Abbas Mirza’s reforms were aimed mostly at bridging the gap in military might between Iran and Europe, they were not limited to the military, and some of the reforms had a major and fundamental effect on the modernization of Iran. For example, the foundry that he built for military purposes was soon used for civil purposes as well; his idea of encouraging foreign subjects to migrate to Iran had more than just military thinking behind it; and his decision to send students to study abroad had far greater aims, results and repercussions than those limited to the military field.³ As his historian, ‘Abd al-Razzaq Maftun Dunbuli, put it, ‘Abbas Mirza envisioned an Iran in which its inhabitants ‘would not be in need of other countries in their affairs, its intelligent masters and craftsmen would not look up to foreign countries, and would produce what they needed in this country [Iran].’⁴ Through the sending of students to Europe, first by ‘Abbas Mirza and intermittently by others after him, Iranians were gradually introduced to Western civilization, culture, society, economy and politics, as well as thought (especially reformist thought), habits, languages, etc.

The pressures for change steadily intensified with the loss of territory, human life and revenues, and with a stream of refugees; through the humiliation resulting from the penetration and growing influence of Western powers (an indication of the weakness of the central government); through royal and provincial absolutism; through the insecurity of the populace, subjected to forced conscription into a heavily corrupted army for its adventurous military campaigns, as well as suffering frequent incursions upon villages by frontier nomads (mainly the Turkmen from the north-east), violence committed by brigands and tribes in and between cities, and more frequent outbreaks of cholera and other pandemics that left massive fatalities; through economic pressures caused by a series of capitulatory concessions with enduring effects, growing foreign imports, European customs privileges and decline in the commercial significance of the Persian Gulf as well as in cottage industries; and with the growing burden of tax increases, which was one of the major expressions of injustice, tyranny, extortion and dispossession prevailing in Iran at the time.

The more the contact with the West varied and intensified, the more the pressure for change increased in other fields. Thus, what was limited at first to the military/strategic realm soon entered also into the commercial, cultural, ideological, social and political spheres, affecting the various aspects of daily life in Iran. Modern Western technologies (such as steam and the telegraph) clipped geographical and time distances thus bringing Iran closer to Europe, and this meant that more Iranians gradually came to know more about Europe and the Europeans (and vice versa) in a much shorter time. Western manpower – for purposes of military training, diplomatic missions, commercial and other concessions, and education – poured into Iran, training local cadres, employing them, teaching local people in modern schools and in general dealing with the native population in various ways.

Concurrently, groups of students continued to be sent intermittently to Europe to acquire the skills and knowledge of the new world, something that the state regarded as necessary to keep the country moving forward and enable it to better meet the challenges set by the West. On their return, those students imported into Iran a new vocabulary and culture, as well as innovative ideas, values and concepts.⁵ This was augmented by a similar contribution on the part of Iranian *tujjar* (big merchants). Involved in local, regional and international business, they soon adopted Western business techniques, such as banking and means of communication, which rapidly enabled them to increase their import-export businesses. On their return to Iran from Western or Western-style reforming countries, and in similar fashion to the Iranian students, these merchants, along with Iranian diplomats and other travellers, imported their share of Western terminology, culture, ideas, etc. Owing to extensive interactions with populations on the other side of the border, certain areas (such as the south, bordering British India, and the north-west, adjoining the Caucasus), and certain minorities (such as the Zoroastrian community in Iran with their brethren in British India), also formed channels for the dissemination of Western culture and ideas into Iran.⁶

Pressure for change was also coming from religious, social and ideological movements. American Presbyterian missionaries began missionary activity in Iran in the mid-1830s through the introduction of modern education, as well as by providing modern medical services and some social work. They were soon followed by French, British and many other Western missionaries. Although initially restricted to the Christian communities, later in the nineteenth century their activities gradually spread into non-Christian communities in Iran as well, thereby propagating not only the Christian religion and its values, but also a new culture.

In the mid-1840s the Babi movement and later, in the mid-1860s, the Baha'i faith, were introducing not only a new faith or religion, but also rationalism, social reformism and modernization. Their appeal was strong because their origins were generally rooted in Shi'ism and Shaykhism. The Shi'i religion and culture formed one of the two pillars of identity among the vast majority of Iranians (the other being the Iranian/pre-Islamic pillar of identity). The Shaykhi school of thought maintained that the Twelfth Imam, during his occultation, guided the Shi'i community through a 'perfect Shi'i', who acted as a *bab* (gate) between the Imam and his community. The prevailing atmosphere of despair, humiliation, injustice, violence and insecurity, combined with the fact that Shaykhism gained a wide following in Iran (as well as among the Shi'a of Iraq), both amongst the 'ulama' and their lay followers, and also with the fact that messianic expectations assumed an even more millennial character one thousand years after the disappearance of the Twelfth Imam, led many Shaykhis (as well as other Shi'is) to expect that the return of the Mahdi was near. It was therefore necessary to prepare the ground for the widespread response to the Bab's declaration in 1844/AH 1260, among the Shi'i community in general, and the Shaykhis in particular.⁷

The idea of renewal, as expressed in the new Babi dispensation, was indigenous to Iran's non-conformist religious environment. The social and political crisis of the period broadened its appeal to the dissidents among the lower ranks of the 'ulama', as well as to younger merchants, artisans, and men and women critical of the clergy's excesses, government ineptitude, antiquated social and moral mores, and the outside economic

forces that threatened the very foundation of the social order.⁸ Thus, the Babi movement gradually became the first manifestation of popular protest in modern Iran to challenge, theoretically and in practice, the legitimacy of the Shi'i establishment and the Qajar monarchy.⁹ The Bab's open announcement, made in July 1848 in Tabriz before a religious tribunal and in the presence of the crown prince, claiming to be the returning *Imam Mahdi* indeed had revolutionary implications: it marked the era of resurrection (*qiyama*) and represented a challenge to the entire social order, including both secular and religious authorities, both of whom had a lot to lose if the Bab was recognized as the Mahdi he claimed to be.¹⁰

But it soon became clear that the Bab was not just the Mahdi, but was a new point of revelation, presenting a new religious framework entirely different from that of Islam, and introducing a new doctrine and concept: since God is inaccessible to the human creation who has to love Him, God reveals himself through a succession of manifestations, starting with Adam and continuing through Moses, Jesus and Muhammad to the Bab (whom the Baha'is believe to be the *Qa'im*, 'the one who will arise' from the family of Prophet Muhammad, or the very same Mahdi), and in future to 'Him whom God shall make manifest' (*Man yuzhirubu Allah*) (namely, Baha'u'llah, whom the Baha'is believe to be the return of Christ), and so on indefinitely. Each manifestation (*mazhar-i ilahi*) gives a more comprehensive and developed expression of the divine teaching, encompassing all previous manifestations.¹¹ The Bab also introduced distinctive forms of ritual prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, tithing, etc. He even allowed merchants to charge interest, in sharp contrast to Islamic law.¹²

As the new movement spread, it posed a greater danger for both the clergy and state. In a series of bloody confrontations between 1848 and 1852, the Qajar government managed to eliminate most of the movement's leadership, with the Bab himself executed in 1850. The failed attempt in 1852 on the life of Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar (r. 1848–96) caused more Babis and suspected Babis to be arrested, tortured and killed,¹³ and forced the movement in Iran to go underground, while many fled the country altogether.

In 1863 (19 years after the declaration of the Bab in 1844)¹⁴ Baha'u'llah, who was in Baghdad, informed a number of close followers that he was 'He whom God shall make manifest', or the messianic figure promised by the Bab. This was a private declaration. The more public one was in Edirne, when he broke all ties with his half-brother, Mirza Yahya Nuri Azal. It was after this event that the vast majority of the Babis accepted his claims, his teachings, and the new faith – the Baha'i faith – which put strong emphasis on kindness, education and science, just rule and protection of subjects from oppression and injustice, political quietism, loyalty to the state, and much more.¹⁵ The Baha'i faith thus became a source of religious, moral and social modernism in Qajar Iran, and drew many converts not only from the Babi community, but also from the majority Shi'i population, as well as from the other religious minorities, especially Zoroastrians (mainly in Yazd)¹⁶ and Jews (mainly in Kashan and Hamadan).¹⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century the Baha'i community in Iran numbered some 100,000 people, who came from all levels and sectors of Iranian society, and included villagers, artisans, merchants, landlords, courtiers, intellectuals and even clerics, as well as converts from the religious minorities. Thus, these ideas were not limited to only one segment of the population, but found their way into all levels of Iranian society.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, but increasingly after the mid-1850s, calls for reform were also coming from intellectual circles in Iran. One of the most outstanding among those figures was Mirza Malkum Khan Nazim al-Daulih, but others, either before, during his time or after him, such as Abu-Talib Isfahani, Mirza Salih Shirazi, Mustafa Khan Afshar, Abu-Talib Bihbihani, Hajj Zayn al-'Abidin Maraghih'i, 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf Tabrizi, Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani,¹⁸ Mirza Fath-'Ali Akhundzadih,¹⁹ Mirza Yusuf Khan Mustashar al-Daulih,²⁰ Muhammad Shafi' Qazvini²¹ and many more, supported extensive reforms in general, and educational reform in particular.²² Such reformist ideas and thoughts were expressed by individual intellectuals, but their appeal was mostly limited to a small milieu of court officials and Western-educated Iranians, and at times those ideas also found expression in the shape of certain groupings or societies, such as the local Freemason-modelled *Faramush-khanib* (lit., 'House of Forgetfulness') (1858–61), and the various *anjumans* (societies) which began to mushroom at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries.

It is quite difficult to measure which of these two – the Baha'i or the non-Baha'i reformist thought – had greater impact in Iran; but it would be quite reasonable to state, at the very least, that the reformist ideas of the Baha'i faith played some role in the propagation of reform and modernization in Iran. Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth century, reformist ideas and issues such as opposition to tyranny, the need for justice and order, the advent of modern education, etc., were advocated not only in the works of Iranian secular thinkers and imported Persian newspapers such as *Akhtar*, ('Star'), *Sur-i Israfil*, ('The Trumpet of Gabriel'), *Thurayya*, ('Pleiades'), *Habl al-Matin*, ('The Firm Rope'), etc., but also in the writings of Babi and Baha'i leaders, who, in many cases, called for even more extreme reformist measures than the non-Baha'i thinkers (as in the case of the rights of women and minorities).²³ Thus, if not one of the prime sources of reformist ideas in Iran, the Baha'i faith and community were probably one of the major catalysts for the spread of reform in general, and of educational reform in particular.²⁴ Certainly, through the practice of their beliefs, the Baha'is in Iran, with their broad representation in Iranian society, helped to disseminate such ideas as reform, modernization, science, technology, modern education, etc., which are fundamental to the Baha'i teachings.

The various groups in Iranian society reacted differently to the pressures for reform and to the issue of the collision between tradition and modernity that reverberated through, and was felt by, all levels and sectors. The majority – composed of the decisive majority of the 'ulama', the people who followed them, and their traditional allies (traditionalist courtiers, *bazaris*, landowners, etc.) – still believed that native traditional values, manners and customs had to be preserved and secured from any foreign influence. The advent of change and reform, as well as the importation of each and every new element that originated in a foreign culture, into the decisively traditional Shi'i society of Iran, was regarded by these traditional forces as a threat to their own position in the society, and a serious blow to native religious and traditional values, and was thus a source for fomenting chaos. This group, led by the almost independent Shi'i clerical class, with the 'ulama' at the top, presided not only over the mosques and the religious endowments but also over the judiciary and educational institutions. They thus succeeded in strengthening their social status and religious authority to such an extent that they were

able to confront the Qajar kings, and even to 'twist their arms' in a number of instances.

What was initially a minor but influential group composed of reformist thinkers, intellectuals, some officials, and members of the Babi and Baha'i communities, gradually grew in number. Unlike the traditionalists, they believed that the adoption of Western techniques and models was the only way to pull Iran out of its dire situation and enable the country to advance and progress like Europe. Naturally, they were hated by the traditionalists, who saw them as enemies, and the existence of the Babis and Baha'is in this second group inflamed the clerics' hatred still further, often giving them ammunition with which to attack the secular thinkers and accuse them of being Babis and Baha'is.

A third group – composed mainly of the shah and his government, who were under pressure from Russia and Britain, as well as from the two groups discussed above – tried to adopt a median path as a compromise between the traditionalists and modernists, both of whom they desired to pacify. Although willing to introduce reforms, they were unwilling to destroy the fabric of their society, with the result that the traditional was preserved alongside the modern. It was this third group, partially backed by the shah, that implemented the reforms. Among them could be seen reform-minded royal princes (such as 'Abbas Mirza Nayib al-Saltanih),²⁵ prime ministers (such as Mirza Abu al-Qasim Qa'im-Maqam,²⁶ Mirza Taqi Khan Farahani Amir Kabir,²⁷ Haji Mirza Husayn Khan Qazvini Mushir al-Daulih²⁸ or Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih),²⁹ and other ministers and high officials (such as 'Ali-Quli Mirza I'tizad al-Saltanih,³⁰ Muhammad Khan Majd al-Mulk,³¹ Mirza Muhammad-Husayn Khan Farahani Dabir al-Mulk³² and Mirza Yusuf Khan Mustashar al-Daulih). The rivalry between these groups, and especially between the supporters and opponents of reform, kept the society in a constant state of relative tension.

As long as the traditional groups in the Iranian society remained united, they could contain the extent of change in the country and keep it minimized. But internal conflicts (such as those between the predominant Usulis and the lesser Akhbaris), combined with social, religious and economic developments, were increasingly challenging the traditionalists' ascendancy and united stand. In the nineteenth century these developments resulted in fundamental changes within the culture of Iranian society. This, combined with cold and tense relations between the clerical establishment (or at least some leading 'ulama') and the state on the one hand, and, on the other, between the state and the merchant and intellectual classes (mainly because of the state's absolutism and corruption), resulted in some of the 'ulama', the merchants and intellectuals shifting towards each other.

This trend, combined with periodic waves of reform and modernization, internal chaos, and continued absolutism, led finally to the creation of a wide and popular anti-absolutist and pro-reform movement that was now pushing for genuine reform, not only in the 'old' fields of military and administration, but also in new ones such as the educational and political systems, while demanding civil rights and security. One of the cultural results of this movement, which in a relatively short period and in spite of strong opposition and many obstacles managed to leave an important mark on the pillars of social life in Iran, was the establishment of modern schools whose social aim was completely at odds with the old *maktab-khanibs* and madrasas.³³

Some of the pressures for change and reform were unique to Iran, but some were part of a wider phenomenon, shared by other peoples and countries in the Middle East or in other Eastern lands, namely the clash of East and West, and of the traditional with the modern. These 'shared pressures' produced similar results in other parts of the Orient, the Islamic world and the Middle East, and were shaped, in each place, by the prevailing local and unique circumstances. In the Far East, for example, Japan emerged from the world of the past into the modern world with the inauguration of the Meiji ('enlightened rule') period (1868–1912). Realizing that Japan must play an international role in the world, the Meiji emperor and his ministers were united in looking towards the West. They hoped and endeavoured to adapt Western ideas while retaining the values of the East; or as one of their spiritual predecessors, the Japanese scholar Sakuma Shozan, wrote: 'eastern ethics and western science.' Shozan saw clearly that purity of spirit alone would not defeat Western military might. There was a growing perception that unless some careful modernization was undertaken, the tranquil life of the isolated island empire would be endangered. All efforts were thus directed towards improving the economy of the country and building up its military strength. Foreign experts in transportation, defence, agriculture and industry were employed and their progressive methods carefully studied and adopted. A programme of social reform was put into motion, and a constitution was drawn up. All these and other reforms became the secret of Japan's victory over Russia in the 1904–5 Russo-Japanese War. Education stood at the heart of these reforms. It was made compulsory and, by the end of the Meiji period, attendance in schools stood at 98 per cent.³⁴

Having received the charter granting the right to trade in India from Queen Elizabeth I (1600), the British, through the East India Company, started first to penetrate, and later to solidify their position in, India. From the late eighteenth century they managed, through occupation and alliances, to strengthen their hold on the country and to turn it into one of the most prestigious colonies in the British Empire. They introduced many reforms into India, which not only served the British, but also had some benefit for the local population. Modern irrigation, transport, communication, administrative, educational and other systems were introduced, which not only modernized the country, but also helped to form the Indian national movement that finally forced the British out of the country.³⁵

In the Middle East, Iran was following rather than leading the ideas for, and attempts at reform, which were expressed and implemented throughout the neighbouring Ottoman Empire and more distant Egypt. While Europe had emerged out of medieval times to undergo the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution in rapid succession, the countries of the Middle East, including Iran, were still deep in their dreams of Islamic superiority over the Christian world, living with pride in their material and spiritual accomplishments, and believing that they were among the greatest powers in terms of military might and civilization. Although these dreams might have been justified in the early centuries of Islam, they proved untenable in later centuries. After reaching the gates of Vienna for the second time in 1683, the Ottoman Empire, which, under the command of its sultans, controlled a considerable part of the Middle East, began to suffer defeat after defeat at the hands of European armies. It was these defeats, the humiliation of the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718), and the territorial losses, that brought the Ottomans to acknowledge the superiority of the West,

and consequently stimulated the desire and drive to adopt Western methods. These became known as the *Tanzimat* (arrangements, regulations) and formed a major channel through which Western culture, values and technology, along with influence and pressure, were introduced to the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East.

The outside pressures for change and reform accelerated the pressures inside the Ottoman Empire. As early as the seventeenth century, Ottoman reformers were sponsoring systematic attempts at reform within the Empire, but such ideas were premature for the contemporary circumstances; they had to await the further demonstration of European superiority during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to make an impact. The reforms did indeed come, and from above. It was during the reign of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) that the first comprehensive reform programme, called the *Nizam-i Jedid* (New Organization), was drawn up. It introduced major changes, mainly in the military field (such as the formation of a modern army corps), but also in education (such as the establishment of technical schools to train cadres) and administration (such as increased taxation). This reform programme continued under Mahmud II (r. 1807–39), but with a much stronger Western orientation and a more radical concept of a centralized state that aimed to revive the absolute authority of the Ottoman rulers, supported by new, technically proficient and entirely devoted elites.

This first phase of reform was followed later by the more extensive Tanzimat (Reorganization) reform period (1839–76), through the *Gülhane* Rescript of 1839, the *Hatt-i Humayun* of 1856, and the 1876 Constitution. In this period the reform programme was extended from the military, administrative and education fields to economic, social and religious affairs as the result of an Ottoman understanding that radical changes in society were needed to support a centralized state. Later cycles of reform continued with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and on down to the creation of the modern nation-state of Turkey and the introduction of more extensive reforms under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.³⁶

Reform in education began with the establishment of professional schools (naval, military engineering, medical, music, military and language schools), and the despatch of students abroad (from 1827), and continued with the creation of a new system of elementary and secondary schools to prepare students for higher technical education. Even so, primary and secondary education remained considerably religious in content until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1847 the Ottoman Ministry of Education was founded, and began to organize middle schools (*rushdiyyib*), while the army created a parallel system of secondary schools. These reformist measures continued after the Crimean War (1853–6) with both the ministry and the army introducing arithmetic, geography and Ottoman history to the curriculum. However, despite the good intentions of the Ottoman reformers, the achievements of the Tanzimat in the sphere of education were limited. Elementary education remained very much in the hands of the various religious communities. Progress at the secondary level was slow, but eventually secondary schools were established in all provincial capitals and other large towns. In 1870, a programme was outlined for the foundation of a university, but much of that plan remained in abeyance until the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁷

The three years of the French occupation of Egypt (1798–1801) put in motion a long process of transforming that country from a traditionalist backwater into a modern

nation. Planning for a permanent occupation, Napoleon Bonaparte had brought with him a flood of engineers, doctors, archaeologists and other scientists to advise him on ways to consolidate French rule over Egypt, exploit its resources and help propagate French culture among the natives. Modern workshops in various fields were set up, and through them modern technology and ideas found their way into Egypt. This intensive period of reform and modernization was followed by more reforms that were introduced by Muhammad 'Ali (1769–1849), the new ruler of Egypt (r. 1805–49), and by the successive rulers in the dynasty he established in the country.³⁸

Muhammad 'Ali planned a far-reaching reorganization of the Egyptian state and society. He built a new army and devised a new tax system, in the process breaking all other political forces, destroying Mamluk households, and replacing the old tax-farming arrangements, as well as confiscating the 'ulama's tax farms and *awqaf* (endowments; pl. of *waqf*). In order to support the state apparatus, he totally reorganized the administration and economy of the country. These and other initial reforms were extended by his descendant, Isma'il (1863–79), during whose reign Egypt acquired the infrastructure of cultural modernity.

The reforms in these various fields required trained cadres, which in turn necessitated the founding of a new school system to train such cadres. Since such a system required much time to establish, and since the need was urgent, Muhammad 'Ali found it expedient to send students to Europe to acquire skills that they could teach on their return to Egypt. Concurrently, Muhammad 'Ali established a small number of institutions which offered a modern curriculum to the elite who were needed for the army and the administration. Primary education was virtually neglected under Muhammad 'Ali and his successors, with the emphasis continuing to be on secondary or higher education in Europe and in the foreign schools established in Egypt, of which there were 146 by 1878. A modern teacher-training college was opened in 1873, but traditional Islamic instruction continued to be the main channel of education.³⁹

EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRAN

In Iran, as elsewhere, education was one of the most important fields into which major and cardinal changes were introduced. Changing things meant that the new had to be taught. But education – i.e., the teaching staff and schools – was one of the power bases of the Shi'i clerics in Iran, over which they had almost monopolist control at both elementary and secondary levels. Because the vast majority of clerics opposed reforms, this meant not only that new instructors had to be recruited (at first mainly from outside the country), but also that new schools were needed, since the clerical establishment controlled the traditional *maktabs* and madrasas. Therefore, reform in education raised the fiercest opposition on the part of the 'ulama', for it was regarded by them as a major threat to their high position and status in Iran.

Education also plays a central role in the Baha'i faith, for it is the basic precondition for both spiritual and material progress, and it is through education that the Baha'i believer can study and learn, practise and implement the Baha'i teachings. The fact that the Baha'i faith is a cleric-free religion makes it the duty of the Baha'i believer to strive to study the faith, and this would be impossible without education. Thus, education and

the need for reform in education became one of the focal points of conflict between traditionalists and modernists, between the anti- and pro-reform factions, and between the anti-Baha'i and Baha'i camps in Iran. Thus, the introduction of modern schools, which in content and in methods of teaching are very different from traditional ones, followed a very difficult and tortuous path.

During the nineteenth century in Iran, education gradually turned into one of the main arenas of reform. In the first half of that century, reform in education was to all intents and purposes exclusive and particular to the military (or military-related areas). Thus, Iranian students were mostly sent abroad to study, European instructors were brought to Iran to instruct Iranians, and European military textbooks were translated into Persian, all with the intention of training Iranians in European military-related skills. All this educational activity was largely the result of an initial understanding that Iran's defeat in two wars against Russia (in 1804–13 and 1826–8), was the result of the superiority of modern European armies over its own traditional forces, and that this superiority could be balanced by introducing European-modelled reform into the Iranian army. This conclusion might appear, in retrospect, to have been somewhat naive, but at the time it seemed logical; after all, other Muslim countries (particularly the Ottoman Empire) whose armies had been also defeated by European powers (particularly Russia), had already taken similar measures and introduced similar reforms in their military forces.

But with defeats (such as the Ottoman defeat by Russia in 1828–9, and the Iranian defeat by the British in 1856–7) continuing to occur even after the introduction of military reforms, a deeper and more thorough understanding was beginning to emerge. The realization that the secret of the Europeans' military superiority lay not only in their military power, but in other fields as well, was understood not only by a few individual reformers, but particularly by an emerging group of intellectuals, some of whom had graduated from European universities, and were thus able to witness the progress made by their host countries in other arenas as well as the military. From their own experience as students as well as observers, they began to look into the reasons for Iran's backwardness, and sought ways to amend the situation. By publishing their recollections, thoughts and ideas, for example in the form of memoirs of their periods of study, or their true or imaginary travelogues, or their translations of European books into Persian, they brought the reform-seeking movement in Iran into being. Compared to earlier reformers, however, these intellectuals were not advocating the adoption and blind imitation of external or formal reforms, but were calling for the establishment of an extensive and fundamental infrastructure in which education was a major component – a approach that would actually mean slowing the process of reform.

In other words, if Iran's backwardness was regarded as an illness, then the cure had to be applied to its roots; but if the problem lay with the roots themselves – i.e., the existing traditional forms of thought in Iranian society – then those traditional ideas themselves had to be uprooted and replaced by reformist-modernist thought. This could only be achieved through education. The intellectuals and reformists concluded therefore that the key to European superiority was education, and that any real and meaningful progress could be made only through reform in the traditional educational system. In Europe, after all, education had turned unqualified students into qualified cadres, whose expertise had

created the gap between the West and the East. As a result, educational reform, namely the adoption of Western educational methods and contents, became a central focus within the broader context of the modernization process in Iran as it did elsewhere in Islamic and Eastern lands.

This notion of the need for reform in education was supported by a growing number of local intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Qajar Iran, and gradually influenced reform-minded officials in those countries to initiate and implement reforms in education. In the Ottoman Empire the initiative came mainly from people such as Sadiq Rif'at Pasha and Sayyid Mustafa Sami (in the 1840s) and the Young Ottomans (in the 1860s and 1870s);⁴⁰ and in Egypt from Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi (in the 1840s), Muhammad 'Abduh and Lutfi al-Sayyid (towards the end of the nineteenth century).⁴¹

EDUCATION AND THE SECULAR INTELLECTUALS

The need for reform in education had already been raised by a few Iranians earlier in the nineteenth century. For example, in their *safarnamih*s (travel books) both Mirza Salih Shirazi (mainly in England in the 1810s) and Mirza Mustafa Afshar (in Russia in the 1820s) recognized the importance of education in the progress of the country, as well as its key role in the reform process and as one of the basic causes of European strength.⁴² Ja'far ibn Ishaq, another writer from the same period (mid-1820s), regarded 'knowledge' as being 'more vital than worship', and believed that 'learned people' (*abl-i danish*) were 'God's superior creatures'.⁴³ However, such early voices did not carry the necessary weight to bring about a major change in Iran's educational system, which remained mostly traditional. Change occurred only intermittently and mainly in relation to military or military-related disciplines, either through students being sent abroad or through the bringing in of foreign military tutors. The shift began to be felt later in the century, and was marked mainly by the opening in 1851 of the *Dar al-Funun* (lit., House of Arts). This was the first state-sponsored, European-style educational institution in Iran, and the graduation of its first class in 1858,⁴⁴ and the removal of the prime minister of the time, Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri I'timad al-Daulih (1851–8), occurred in the same year.⁴⁵

The Dar al-Funun, which produced modern-educated cadres for the Iranian bureaucracy, administration, military, etc., was not only the first polytechnic in Iran, but was also a hub for producing local intellectuals from among its students and staff. One of the first locally employed staff at the school was Mirza Malkum Khan (1833–1908)⁴⁶ – an Iranian Armenian who had converted to Islam. He studied in Paris (1843–52) and lived for many years in Europe, and thus became well acquainted with Europe and a European lifestyle and thought. Through this experience and exposure Malkum became aware that the superiority of Europe was not just military, but in many others areas, and this understanding led him to promote a broad process of modernization that included the large-scale adoption of European institutions, technology and education.

Malkum was vocal in putting forward his ideas to the shah, his government, and the upper (and influential) circles of Iranian society, as well as to the students at the Dar al-Funun, and as part of his efforts to promote reform, he managed in 1860 to establish the Faramush-khanih,⁴⁷ of which some of the above-mentioned students, members of the

elite, and even 'ulama' became members. But his main contribution towards the development of the reform movement in Iran seems to have been in his theories of reform, which he put in writing. These theories were apparently influenced by theories prevalent at the time in Europe, which Malkum attempted to extract from their European context and tailor – using Persian terms with similar meanings – to the Iranian context.

Malkum Khan regarded education, or the acquisition of knowledge (*'ilm*), as a precondition for people to rise above the animal stage to that of humanism,⁴⁸ and for societies to reach the highest level of civilization.⁴⁹ He believed that learning and the acquisition of knowledge alone made human life meaningful, and that civilizations progressed only with the advancement of education.⁵⁰ Although similar theories prevailed in Europe at the time (such as those of Charles Darwin and Immanuel Kant), there existed some comparable ideas in the Islamic world (such as those expressed by Ibn Khaldun).⁵¹ At any rate, whether or not they were affected by those of Malkum, similar notions were expressed by others such as Mirza Nasrullah Bihishti Malik al-Mutakalimin,⁵² I'tizad al-Saltanih (in his *Falak al-Sa'ada*, or 'Orbit of Happiness'), and Taqi Khan Ansari (in his *Janvar-namih*, or 'Book of Zoology').⁵³

In his writings, which generally advocated comprehensive reform and the adoption of the European model, Malkum Khan laid great emphasis on the complete overhaul and comprehensive change of the educational system in Iran, giving preference to the education of the people (*millat*) over that of the government (*daulat*). According to Malkum, education was not only necessary for learning modern technologies, skills and professions but was also very important in nation-building; he firmly believed that the Iranian nation should be taught to know their rights.⁵⁴ As for the rulers, Malkum was of the opinion that while it was not necessary for them to be highly educated, it was vital for the development of the educational system that they should recognize the importance of education.⁵⁵

In his first treatise, Malkum drew up a detailed programme for national educational reform in Iran that included three levels of education (elementary, secondary and higher), the necessary European-style curriculum, and the subjects of study for each level; he also outlined provisions for specialized training schools.⁵⁶ And whereas prevailing circumstances confined education to a very small and privileged segment of the Iranian population, Malkum Khan believed in universal literacy, and was the first to advocate it. He also felt that the difficulty of the Arabic alphabet, used in Iran (and in the Ottoman Empire) for teaching and writing the vernacular, inhibited the attainment of universal literacy and the spread of modern sciences, and was thus partly responsible for the low status of Muslims. Therefore the Arabic alphabet should be simplified or changed, and this would bring about the spread of education and increase national unity and power.⁵⁷

The idea of universal literacy or mass education was voiced by other intellectuals as well. In a mostly traditional and illiterate society like that of nineteenth-century Iran, mass education was regarded by these intellectuals as a precondition not only for the advancement of the individual, but also of the society; they also believed that the state should play a central role in such education. The author of *Tarbiyat* ('Education', the first private newspaper in Iran), for example, saw education as 'the principal cause of progress,' and argued that it was the 'duty' of every government to oblige parents to send their children to school for the benefit 'of the state and the people.'⁵⁸

Another intellectual, Mirza Yusif Khan Mustashar al-Daulih, supported and promoted similar ideas, namely the adoption of a state-run compulsory education system in Iran, free for those unable to pay for it.⁵⁹ Indeed, payment for schooling was a major factor preventing the impoverished masses in Iranian society from obtaining an education. Abu-Talib Bihbihani⁶⁰ saw freedom as the source of Western strength, and universal education as the precondition for that freedom,⁶¹ and 'Ali-Bakhsh Qajar⁶² advocated a nationwide system of state-run schools.⁶³ Similar ideas were also voiced by Malik al-Mutikallimin,⁶⁴ who believed that 'only through knowledge can mankind achieve the highest peaks of progress . . . establish justice, and bring redemption to the world', thereby achieving freedom and equality. He called modern schools 'human-producing factories' (*karkhanib-yi adam-sazi*), and saw knowledge as the sole cornerstone on which depended the destiny of the world, the fate of the nation and the future of the people.⁶⁵

According to 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf (Talibzadih) Tabrizi,⁶⁶ one of the leading intellectuals of the Qajar period, it was the duty of the state to provide schooling and the duty of the parents to send their children to school. He attempted to develop public support and interest in modern schools, maintaining that education promoted social and occupational mobility,⁶⁷ and that 'lack of knowledge and spiritual poverty' were the 'enemies of freedom'.⁶⁸ Probably influenced by Adam Smith, Talibuf regarded a constitution as the precondition for the possession of wealth, order and independence, while education was the main means of cultivating 'human talent' (*isti'dad*), which equalled 'economic wealth'.⁶⁹

Similar views concerning a constitutional regime were voiced by Mirza Yusif Khan Mustashar al-Daulih, who believed that such a regime was closely connected with education: while a constitutional regime was a prerequisite for the spread of education, without education such a regime could not survive, nor could national unity be achieved.⁷⁰ Hajj Zayn al-'Abidin Maraghih'i⁷¹ also stressed the importance of education and constitution, seeing them as interrelated and crucial for national advancement, progress and prosperity.⁷²

One of the controversial aspects of the need for reform in education was the question of education for women. Some of the intellectuals noted above, along with reform-minded officials, had supported women's education within their call for universal education. This, too, was because of the increasing multifaceted interaction with Europe. However, within the very traditional Iranian society it became a separate issue only at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Constitutional movement was reaching its peak, and even then it was not because of feminist ideas. Rather it was because the image of 'an educated woman' was another symbol of progress, advancement and modernization, and because it was believed that an educated woman could make a better contribution to her family and the nation than an uneducated one.⁷³ Such views were voiced not only by Iranian male intellectuals, but also by female ones, such as Bibi Khanum Vaziruv Astarabadi, who believed that 'if they [i.e., people] need to be educated, [then] all [i.e., men and women] should be educated'.⁷⁴

Thus, the importance of education in the reformist thought of Iranian intellectuals (such as those mentioned above and many others), went far beyond what had initially been perceived simply as the means to promote Iranian military power and strength. Increasingly they came to think that freedom, progress, justice, economic wealth, etc.,

all depended, more or less, on education. Writing from Tehran, Istanbul, Cairo, Tbilisi, Calcutta and elsewhere, these intellectuals spread their reformist thought through books, treatises and newspaper articles in which they spoke up against tyranny and Iran's backwardness, and proposed reforms and changes that they believed were necessary to improve the country's unsatisfactory situation. Thus, towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, and as demands for a constitution intensified, the importance and benefits of education and reform in education gradually increased, to extend far beyond the individual level of teaching or studying at school.

However, reformist thought or action was not limited to the secular intellectuals and reform-minded officials mentioned above. Similar and even more radical and futuristic ideas had already been put forward from the 1840s, and more actively from the 1860s onwards, by other Iranians who were propagating and introducing a new movement and faith. These were the Bab, Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha. Although discussion of their general reformist thought is outside the scope of this study, the focus here will be on 'education' in their reformist thinking, teachings and writings, and will be limited to Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, the two figures who led the Baha'i community between 1863 and 1921, and who were thus the contemporaries of most of the secular Iranian intellectuals and the later Qajar reformists.

EDUCATION AND EARLY BAHAI INTELLECTUALS: BAHA'U'LLAH AND 'ABDU'L-BAHA

Education was not only important to the mainly secular Iranian reform movement; it is also one of the most important tenets of the Baha'i faith, whose early leaders were all Iranians from the Nuri family.⁷⁵ Writing from exile, they attached great importance to reform, in general, and to both education and the educator, in particular.

From the Baha'i perspective, the knowledge and fear of God is the starting point of all effective education. According to Baha'u'llah, 'The fear of God hath ever been the prime factor in the education of His creatures. Well it is with them that have attained thereunto.'⁷⁶ 'Abdu'l-Baha, his son and successor, further expounded on this idea:

That which . . . must precede all else, is to teach them the oneness of God and the laws of God. For lacking this, the fear of God cannot be inculcated, and lacking the fear of God an infinity of odious and abominable actions will spring up, and sentiments will be uttered that transgress all bounds. . .⁷⁷

Thus it is through education that believers can read the sacred writings of their religion and faith, understand them, and follow them.

Baha'u'llah also considered education one of the most fundamental factors of a true civilization.⁷⁸ The 'greatest means' towards 'the advancement of the world of being and the uplift of souls' is the 'education of the child', to which 'must each and all hold fast.'⁷⁹ If parents fail to provide education for their children, then it becomes the duty of the local Baha'i assembly to provide such education, and those who do so are regarded by Baha'u'llah as though they 'hath brought up a son of Mine . . .'⁸⁰

Baha'u'llah regarded man to be 'the supreme Talisman', who had been deprived by 'lack of proper education . . . of that which he doth inherently possess';⁸¹ and who was 'as a mine rich in gems of inestimable value', which 'education can, alone, cause . . . to reveal its treasures, and enable mankind to benefit therefrom.'⁸² His example does not seem merely coincidental. Just as one needs to expend tremendous effort, dedication and faith before one succeeds in attaining the gem, one needs to apply much hard work, perseverance and dedication towards acquiring education, but in both cases the hard work seems worthwhile. Elsewhere, Baha'u'llah described man as

steel, the essence of which is hidden: through admonition and explanation, good counsel and education, that essence will be brought to light. If, however, he be allowed to remain in his original condition, the corrosion of lusts and appetites will effectively destroy him.⁸³

Thus, education is necessary for the progress of mankind, since without it, mankind will not just remain stagnant, but will decline and finally be destroyed.

'Abdu'l-Baha also stressed the positive and constructive aspects of education in a number of instances: 'Through education the ignorant become learned; the cowardly become valiant.' Furthermore, education 'makes the ignorant wise, the tyrant merciful, the blind seeing, the deaf attentive, even the imbecile intelligent', and in addition, 'through education savage nations become civilized, and even the animals become domesticated.'⁸⁴

Baha'u'llah promulgated the 'oneness' of education, i.e., the need for one curriculum for both men and women.⁸⁵ Such ideas for women's education were being advocated at the same time elsewhere in the Middle East, by such Muslim reformists as Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi in Egypt and Mirza Taqi Khan Kashani in Iran.⁸⁶ 'Abdu'l-Baha also attached great importance to the education of girls, who 'must receive an equal education with the sons', and he regarded girls' education even more important

because they are to be the mothers of the coming generation, and mothers rear the children. The first teachers of children are mothers. Therefore they must be in a state of utmost perfection in order to be able to educate the sons.⁸⁷

Elsewhere, he provided further insight into the reasoning behind such a statement:

The world of humanity consists of two parts: male and female. Each is the complement of the other. Therefore, if one is defective, the other will necessarily be incomplete, and perfection cannot be attained . . . Just as physical accomplishment is complete with two hands, so man and woman, the two parts of the social body, must be perfect. It is not natural that either should remain undeveloped; and until both are perfected, the happiness of the human world will not be realized.⁸⁸

'Abdu'l-Baha also compared the world of humanity to a bird with two wings, one being woman and the other man, pointing out that the bird could not fly until both 'wings'

were equally developed and strong.⁸⁹ This explanation could arise from the fact that ‘the world in the past has been ruled by force’, with man dominating woman ‘by reason of his more forceful and aggressive qualities both of body and mind’, while the new age would be ‘less masculine and more permeated with . . . feminine ideals’, or in which ‘the masculine and feminine elements of civilization will be more evenly balanced.’⁹⁰ According to ‘Abdu’l-Baha, the condition in which women found themselves as the inferior sex, with fewer rights and privileges, ‘is due not to nature, but to education . . . If women received the same educational advantages as those of men, the result would demonstrate the equality of capacity of both for scholarship.’⁹¹ This affirmed the principles propounded earlier by Baha’u’llah, that the study curriculum should be the same for males and females. This would promote ‘unity of the sexes’, and once this was realized, ‘the foundations of war will be utterly destroyed.’⁹²

‘Abdu’l-Baha thus made a direct link between women’s education and universal peace in this new age. As soon as they had been accorded the same educational opportunities as men, women would be able to occupy the same positions in the social and economic spheres, and once this had happened, the world would attain unity and peace, since women, as those who bear, rear and educate their children, would refuse to have their sons sacrificed on the fields of battle.⁹³

‘Abdu’l-Baha also regarded teaching children as the ‘most noble profession, industry and occupation.’⁹⁴ Giving one’s children the best possible education was ‘a spiritual duty’, and failing to provide it was an unforgivable sin – killing the child would be better than leaving it ignorant.⁹⁵ Elsewhere he stated that

The education and training of children is among the most meritorious acts of humankind and draweth down the grace and favour of the All-Merciful, for education is the indispensable foundation of all human excellence and alloweth man to work his way to the heights of abiding glory.⁹⁶

But in order to perfect the teaching of children, one needed to strive to widen the scope of one’s own knowledge. Thus, each individual, ‘whether young or old, whether male or female, each according to his capabilities, [had to] bestir themselves and spare no efforts to acquire the various current branches of knowledge, both spiritual and secular, and of the arts.’⁹⁷

Therefore, education and educators of the highest levels are central to the Baha’is. It was their belief in education, and the very high importance attached to it by Baha’u’llah and ‘Abdu’l-Baha – and later also by Shoghi Effendi and the Universal House of Justice (UHJ) – that caused Baha’is to view this matter as a religious duty, i.e., to put words into action. As Baha’u’llah said: ‘It is incumbent upon every man of insight and understanding to strive to translate that which hath been written into reality and action.’⁹⁸ Thus, for example, not only did Baha’i believers read about the importance attached by their faith to education, but they also aspired to open Baha’i schools in Iran (as elsewhere). Baha’u’llah actually implied that this ‘striving to act’ was part of the process of understanding, of insight and of gaining knowledge from pondering. More simply put, as William Diehl explains, it is ‘through understanding that we know how to act, and through acting, we understand.’⁹⁹

Elsewhere, Baha'u'llah described how an individual's development could allow him to be a useful member of society by enabling him to contribute his share to the interdependency of the whole:

Knowledge is as wings to man's life, and a ladder for his ascent. Its acquisition is incumbent upon everyone. The knowledge of such sciences, however, should be acquired as can profit the peoples of the earth, and not those which begin with words and end with words.¹⁰⁰

Without such knowledge and skills, man is 'but a barren tree.'¹⁰¹ Therefore, the 'tree of being' must be decked 'with fruits such as knowledge, wisdom, spiritual perception and eloquent speech.'¹⁰²

The following words of 'Abdu'l-Baha are perhaps the best summary of the tight connection between education and the Baha'i vision of a new world order:

Close investigation will show that the primary cause of oppression and injustice, of unrighteousness, irregularity and disorder, is the people's lack of religious faith and the fact that they are uneducated. When, for example, the people are genuinely religious and are literate and well-schooled, and a difficulty presents itself, they can apply to the local authorities; if they do not meet with justice and secure their rights and if they see that the conduct of the local government is incompatible with the Divine good pleasure and the king's justice, they can then take their case to higher courts and describe the deviation of the local administration from the spiritual law. Those courts can then send for the local records of the case and in this way justice will be done. At present, however, because of their inadequate schooling, most of the population lack even the vocabulary to explain what they want.¹⁰³

Thus, 'the promotion of education', in 'Abdu'l-Baha's view, becomes 'the primary, the most urgent requirement.'¹⁰⁴

These words were written in Palestine in 1875 by 'Abdu'l-Baha in his famous treatise *The Secret of Divine Civilization* (*Asrar al-Ghaybiyya li-Asbab al-Madaniyya*).¹⁰⁵ Though written as an anonymous¹⁰⁶ text on socio-political theory, the treatise was addressed to the Shi'i population of Iran – the king, people, clergy, officials, secular intellectuals, etc. – in response to the specific conditions of Iranian society in the nineteenth century. It actually presented the vision of the Baha'i faith, but concurrently sat very well within the intellectual Iranian discourse regarding modernity, reform and socio-economic development. It was important for Baha'u'llah to demonstrate that the prominent reformist and secular intellectuals were not the only ones able to speak on such matters as reform, modernity, progress, science, etc.; those who were inspired by God were equally able to do so. This was why he also asked 'Abdu'l-Baha to write a book on the 'science of politics' (*'ilm-i siyasa*).¹⁰⁷

The Secret of Divine Civilization is unique in advocating a new approach to modernity, one that does not side either with traditionalism or change, conservatism or modernity, the religious or the secular, but tries instead to harmonize science and spiritual values; in

other words, as Saiedi observes, 'true modernity requires not only scientific, technological, and instrumental rationalization, but spiritual, cultural, and moral rationalization as well.'¹⁰⁸ 'Abdu'l-Baha believed that this was not particular to the Baha'i faith. Islam itself required a dynamic approach to religion and society, and as an example 'Abdu'l-Baha argued that the Prophet Muhammad had exhorted Muslims to seek knowledge from any part of the world, even from a distant, non-Muslim country like China,¹⁰⁹ and pointed out that knowledge and the intellect were prized in both the Qur'an and in Greco-Islamic philosophy. Similar thinking could also be seen in the writings of certain Western intellectuals, such as Hobbes and Locke, who thought of reason and revelation as coexisting principles.

Early Islam itself was a civilizing force for the tribes of the Arabian peninsula. In Iran, philosophy had flourished for a long time, centred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the School of Isfahan. The Shaykhi school that emerged during the second half of the eighteenth century (and out of which the Babi-Baha'i faith developed), prized the intellect, while the traditions of Iranian philosophers such as Avicenna, Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi, and Mulla Sadra are indicators of Iran's civilizational progress.¹¹⁰

In a fashion similar to some of the Iranian secular intellectuals, such as Akhundzadieh,¹¹¹ 'Abdu'l-Baha contrasted the greatness of pre-Islamic Iran with its sad state during the nineteenth century, especially in comparison to the progress made by the West from the fifteenth century onwards. He explained this progress as mainly the result of the encouragement given to learning and the learned, and denounced, as secular Iranian intellectuals did, those who rejected Western education, science and technology as innovation (*bid'a*), forbidden to be emulated.¹¹²

The Baha'i scriptures indicate in a more strenuous manner that individuals should diligently seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave and beyond: 'He [God] has chosen the reality of man and has honored it with intellect and wisdom, the two most luminous lights in either world.'¹¹³ These two are among 'the pillars' that 'have been established as the unshakable supports of the Faith of God', the 'mightiest of [which] is learning and the use of the mind, the expansion of consciousness, and insight into the realities of the universe and the hidden mysteries of Almighty God.' Therefore, 'to promote knowledge is . . . an inescapable duty imposed on every one of the friends of God.'¹¹⁴

'Abdu'l-Baha's reform of education involved new elements that included a universal education, curriculum reform in schools (thus making room for more practical subjects instead of theology and metaphysics), allowing intellectuals to publish books and articles containing suggestions for improving public welfare, and avoidance of scholastic controversies that were harmful to social harmony and scientific productivity. He also argued that effective attainment of social justice depended on the presence of an enlightened and educated population.¹¹⁵

The Secret of Divine Civilization was not only concerned with education. Like certain other reformist treatises of the period in Iran and the Ottoman Empire,¹¹⁶ it argued for a comprehensive reform that included not only education (namely, the setting up of a modern school system), but also politics (e.g., introducing the rule of law, limiting the absolute power of the government, and establishing a representative and elected legislature), the economy (e.g., relieving mass poverty by low taxes on the poor,

increasing state investment in their welfare and improving the country's infrastructure), society (greater freedom for women and religious minorities) and the law (systematizing Iran's secular and religious laws).¹¹⁷

In summary, during the nineteenth century, and concurrent with the rapid transformations in commerce, industry and communications in Europe, and the growing influence of the European powers in Eastern lands, Iran, like many other countries, became subject to many social, economic and political changes, which also resulted in cultural changes. Growing diplomatic, commercial and cultural contact with neighbouring countries with large Muslim societies (such as the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and India), into which reforms had been already introduced, made reforms more realistic for the Iranians. The growing flow of Western diplomats, advisers, concessionaries and travellers into Iran, and of Iranian diplomats, merchants, employees, students and travellers to Europe; the revolution in information technology; the translation of western literature; etc., had all helped to shorten the distance between traditional Iranian society and the modern world.

These were the channels through which reformist ideas penetrated into Iranian society and increased the pressures for change. But suitable foundations had to be prepared in order to be able to implement the necessary changes, absorb them and make them durable. In practical terms, new educational frameworks needed to be established, in which cadres were to be educated in the modern disciplines. This meant modern education and modern schools, both of which played a central role in the reform movement and the Baha'i faith.

Iranian secular intellectuals and the leaders of the Baha'i faith both saw education as one of the basic pillars for progress, but they differed mainly on the relation between education and religion. While the former group regarded education and modernity as belonging to a secular sphere, and as incompatible with religion, the latter group regarded education – along with modernity, scholarship and intellectual life – as an inseparable and indispensable part of Baha'i teaching and of being a Baha'i. According to the Baha'i teachings, the application of the 'Word of God' and the interrelationship between it and evolving human knowledge and insight are infinite. In order for the individual Baha'i to carry forward an 'ever-advancing civilization',¹¹⁸ the acquisition of knowledge and the refining of the powers of the insightful intellect are indispensable. Intellectual excitement is part of spiritual life, while anti-intellectualism, fundamentalism and fanaticism are essentially anti-values and negative forces that have no place in an ideal world.

It is quite difficult to assess which factor contributed most to the progress of reform in Iran, in general, and in education, in particular. It is probably more accurate to say that during the nineteenth century, ideas for reform were coming from different directions and sources, and through various channels. One was the West; another was other societies in the region that were in a more advanced stage of reform than Iran; another was the local secular intellectuals; and yet another was the Babi-Baha'i faith and communities. All contributed their share to the reform process, thereby creating an atmosphere of reform and a strong vector for change. It may well be that while the influence of the former three sources and channels was felt more in the upper circles of

the society, the latter – namely the Babi-Baha'i factor – was felt throughout Iranian society, both vertically and horizontally. The main reason is that in the latter case the ideas of reform were a matter of religious belief, and it was their faith that caused Baha'is from the elite, as well as from the middle and lower strata, to implement what they believed in, spiritually and religiously. They therefore began to open schools and educate their children (due to the great attachment given in their belief to education), to establish locally elected councils (thereby exercising grassroots democracy), and to propagate their faith (thus helping also to spread the message of reform and the importance of science and education).

The teachings of Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha were first taught to Baha'i believers, and then spread by Baha'i promoters. From the late 1870s, manuscripts of Baha'u'llah's new book of laws, the *Kitab-i Aqdas* (the Most Holy Book, written in 1873), began to reach Iranian Baha'i communities, and by the late 1880s Bombay-printed editions of his doctrinal opus, *Kitab-i Iqan* (the Book of Certitude) and 'Abdu'l-Baha's *Secret of Divine Civilization* were circulating widely in Iran.¹¹⁹ These were read and memorized by a growing number of Baha'i adherents, who gradually began to put into effect the provisions of these writings, such as establishing secret (meaning 'in hiding') Houses of Justice, first in Tehran (1878) and then (during the 1880s) in other towns with large Baha'i communities in the provinces of Khurasan, Mazandaran, Fars and Kashan.¹²⁰

Through these writings, the reformist ideas and progressive social principles of the Baha'i faith also reached a larger audience. Despite continued opposition, they played a definite part in preparing the Iranian people for modern social reforms, and this also produced new converts, drawn from all classes of Iranian society.¹²¹ For example, Baha'u'llah's criticism of Iranian absolutism was radical enough to appeal to both disgruntled artisans and intellectuals, while his critique of aspects of modernity was itself liberal enough to attract big merchants (*tujjar*). A Western observer who sought to evaluate the impact of the Babi-Baha'i movement on the progress of Iran asserted that 'the movement blossomed at an opportune moment for Persia and served to stem the rising tide of shi'ah bigotry, which was certainly in those days a definite bar to education and progress.'¹²²

Indeed, by attacking bigotry and superstition while emphasizing science and technology over the supernatural element, the Babi-Baha'i movement contributed to Iranians becoming more receptive to the scientific spirit of the West, as was admitted even by a Shi'i *mujtahid* (a jurist qualified to exercise *ijtihad*, namely to make a legal decision by independent interpretation of the legal sources):

It cannot be overlooked that the appearance of Baha'u'llah and his concepts of social evolution, denial of miracles, and progressive revelation, made a great impact on Iran. It can be safely asserted that after Baha'u'llah, the foundations of traditional religion were weakened in Iran.¹²³

The ideas of the Baha'i faith were indeed novel and revolutionary in nineteenth-century Iran. Although they might seem to have originated in the West, it must be borne in mind that they were actually a response to Western modernity,¹²⁴ formulated and enunciated in a period when most such ideas were equally novel and radical in the

West.¹²⁵ Claims that Baha'i ideas, such as women's rights, global peace, disarmament, globalization, etc., were actually adopted by 'Abdu'l-Baha during his travels in the West, are countered by claims that 'Abdu'l-Baha's ideas had their roots in the writings of Baha'u'llah, which were original, and that the former was simply voicing ideas that had been expressed earlier by his father, using different language and terms.¹²⁶

Shi'i Iran was definitely not an 'ideal world' for the Baha'is, but, given the hardships which the Baha'is in Iran had to face in general, and particularly in educating their children, one can imagine how desperate they were to get permission to open schools (and thus receive some official recognition). They were ready to do anything for the education of their children, and this even included what was later (from 1908 onwards) considered taboo, namely involvement in politics.¹²⁷ 'Abdu'l-Baha himself stated that the involvement of Baha'is from Mazandaran in providing funds to the Constitutional movement was not because of involvement per se, but was actually aimed at promoting education.¹²⁸

Thus conditions inside Iran, along with domestic and regional movements towards reform, created the right circumstances for Iranian secular intellectuals, for the leaders of the Baha'i faith and the Baha'i community in Iran, and for many other reform-minded and pro-reform people, to push hard towards a more serious and extensive reform in Iran's traditional educational system, as part of a general programme for reform.

FROM TRADITIONAL TO MODERN EDUCATION: THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN IRAN TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

In Iran during the Achaemenid period (550–330 BC) the term ‘education’ was understood differently from how it is perceived today. An ‘educated’ child was usually a boy who had been trained in horsemanship, archery, hunting, swimming and telling the truth. Those who belonged to the nobility were also instructed in justice, obedience, endurance and self-restraint. The result of this education was that even Iranian nobles and high-ranking civil servants were actually illiterate, since writing played no part in standard education in Achaemenid Iran. Apart from ethical guidance, the aim of education was to produce efficient soldiers. This curriculum reflected the vulnerability of Iranian society to threats by hostile elements and its respect towards its religious tenets.¹ However, in other parts of the Achaemenid Empire such as Babylonia and Egypt, traditional educational systems – including such elements as reading, writing, some grammar, mathematics and astronomy – were practised and taught in scribal schools. Thus, literacy was actually widespread among the non-Iranian population of the empire, and one could find numerous scribes among the sons of Babylonian shepherds, fishermen, weavers and the like.²

The emphasis on physical and military education for the sons of the nobility also continued during the Parthian (238 BC–AD 226) and Sasanian (AD 226–650) periods, although some reading and writing were also introduced, mainly for the study of Zoroastrian religious texts (such as the *Avesta*). In addition, a noble education also involved social etiquette, ceremonial rites, conduct on festive occasions and the delivery of oration. Singing and playing a musical instrument, as well as games like chess and backgammon, and general information about wines, flowers, women and riding animals were also part of noble education.³

Notwithstanding the preference given to physical and military education, courses in medicine, arithmetic, geography, music and astronomy were available in the latter period of pre-Islamic Iran. Furthermore, higher education was also available, principally at the

Academy of Jundi-Shapur,⁴ where there was a strong emphasis on literature, philosophy (Zoroastrian, Greek and Indian), astronomy (for the study of the heavens), law and government, finance, morals (Zoroastrian), theology, religion, pharmacy and medicine.⁵ Syrian, Alexandrian and Jewish scholars, who were fleeing from the domination of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity, found refuge in Iran under Khusrau Anushirwan, better known as 'the Just' (AD 531–579). He promoted the establishment of universities where scholars from India, Greece and Asia Minor engaged in the study of medicine, agriculture and sciences. These institutions preserved, improved and added to these sciences, and turned Iran into a preserver of classical education; those sciences were later passed on, through Islamic scholarship, to European educators.⁶

The Arab conquest of Iran (AD 642) brought with it the golden age of Iranian learning. Through their educational system, the Muslim Arabs assimilated and improved the best of classical cultures such as Hindu, Persian, Syriac and Hellenistic, and of classical sciences such as philosophy, medicine, mathematics and also literature. It was Islam which offered religious, literary, and scientific elements to the Iranian educational curricula. The Arabs brought to Iran not only the Islamic religion, but also scholarly pursuits and research. Encouraging free inquiry, they explored every branch of human knowledge, such as philosophy, history, historiography, law, sociology, literature, ethics, theology, medicine, mathematics, logic, jurisprudence, art, architecture and ceramics.⁷

The Arabs also introduced into Iran the *maktabs* (or *makatib*, pl. of *maktab*), reading and writing schools which had existed in the Arab world even before Islam. The *maktabs* were religious schools, supported by private contributions and religious foundations, and were often associated with a mosque. In Iran, this sort of establishment was also known as *maktab-khanib*, and was located either in the teacher's house, in the bazaar or at public institutions (such as the mosque, *takiyyib* or the *busayniyyib*).⁸ Reading and writing of both Persian and Arabic calligraphy, and study of the Qur'an and religious texts, as well as classical Persian texts – like Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Bustan* and the poems of Hafiz – became part of the curriculum. These *maktabs* traditionally served as centres for elementary education, where the upper- and middle-class urban youth – children of landlords, government officials and shopkeepers – received their schooling. Wealthy people, such as big merchants and *bazaris*, often maintained private family *maktabs*, where they educated their own children and those of relatives through the services of a *mu'allim-i sar-i kbanib* (in-house teacher), or a *mirza*, an educated person who taught a more 'secular' curriculum than the *mulla* (a male religious teacher). The main reason for such private *maktabs* was to prevent their children from socializing with other (i.e., poorer) children and being negatively influenced by them.⁹

Most of the pupils were boys. If girls attended the *maktab*, it was usually between the ages of five or six and nine or ten, and they studied together with the boys, while the few girls who continued to study did so in separate *maktabs* for girls. The *maktabdār* (instructor; teacher),¹⁰ who mostly worked on his own or sometimes with one or two assistants (*khalifa*), was either paid in cash, in kind or in services, according to whatever the parents could afford for the instruction of their children, and his pay was usually supplemented by gifts. The *maktabdār*, who was often semi-literate, taught by rote and maintained strict discipline by applying physical punishment freely. No physical activity was provided in the *maktab*; the pupils spent their entire school day sitting cross-legged,

and were expected to focus their attention on their books or writing, and on memorizing the verses of the Qur'an, while the *akbund* or *mulla* sat in the middle, holding a stick in his hands, to be used as a disciplinary tool. Pupils were not categorized by age or scholastic progress, and there was no gradation in the levels of instruction. Talented students continued their education in the madrasa.¹¹

The madrasas were another type of Islamic school.¹² In effect they were colleges for higher education, where Islamic sciences – particularly *fiqh* (jurisprudence), Qur'an and hadith – were professionally taught and studied, along with ancillary fields (such as Arabic grammar and philology) and 'foreign sciences' (such as philosophy and medicine).¹³ Although a few Shi'ite madrasas were introduced into Iran before the Safavids, after their rise to power in Iran (1501) and the Shi'ization of the country, the number of such madrasas began to grow rapidly. They were usually housed in a *hawzih-yi 'ilmiyyih* (religious seminary), and were funded by private endowments (*awqaf*) that rendered them independent of the governing authorities.¹⁴

During the golden age of Islam, the general curriculum included the following subjects: mathematics (algebra, trigonometry and geometry), science (chemistry, physics and astronomy), medicine (anatomy, surgery and pharmacy), philosophy (logic, ethics and metaphysics), literature (philology, grammar, poetry and prosody), social sciences (history, geography, political disciplines, law, sociology and psychology), jurisprudence and theology (comparative religions, history of religious study of the Qur'an, religious traditions and other religious topics). Although initially not all aspects of the Muslim curriculum made their way into Iranian education, Iran gradually became one of the hubs for these sciences by preserving, developing and contributing to them.¹⁵

No compulsory education existed, and the government made no attempt to propagate primary education, nor did it have any involvement or control over the *maktabs* or the madrasas; rather, that duty was left for the parents themselves.¹⁶ Compulsory education was introduced only at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Other venues for education also existed. In the bazaar, a child could learn, as an apprentice, the different professions housed there; the *zurkbanih* provided physical education, although usually for teenaged children and older people; and in the village or within the tribe, children received their education, which included both vocational and character training, at home and in the fields.¹⁷

The Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century brought the greatest calamity to Muslim learning, marking, in general terms, the beginning of the demise of the golden age of Muslim learning and education.¹⁸ In Iran, it marked a period of quiescence and recession in educational endeavours that extended from approximately 1350 to the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, at which time more robust steps were taken towards introducing modern education and schools.¹⁹ During this long period the *maktabs* predominated and the madrasas survived, but education moved at a vastly slower pace. However, since education was not public and was mostly religious in content, being taught mainly at religious schools, it mostly produced *mujtabids*, helped to spread religion and strengthened the position of the religious class as the main single educated class in Iranian society.²⁰

C. J. Wills (1842–1912), a British medical officer serving in the Iranian section of the Indo-European Telegraph Department (1866–81), gave a concise description of the state

of general education in Iran at the time of his service there. His long stay in the country, and his frequent contacts with influential individuals as well as ordinary people from various sectors, provided him with ample experience and knowledge to make this description of his impression of Persian schooling as close as possible to reality:

As to education in Persia, reading, writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic are general among the merchant and bazaar class; and each small village has its school [i.e., *maktab*], which is generally held in the mosque. The usual sum paid for instruction to the 'moallim', or schoolmaster, is from sixpence to a shilling a month. The letters are taught, and then the reading in Arabic of the Koran. Of course the boys do not understand what they read, and as they all read at once in chorus, the noise is deafening. The discipline is severe, and a boy who is idle, *or whose parents are backward with the monthly stipend*, has a rough time of it. The bastinado on a miniature scale is always ready in the corner . . . No attempt is made to teach anything more than the three R's [i.e., reading, writing and arithmetic]; particular attention is devoted to calligraphy, for a good writer is sure of his living, if merely as a clerk.

Those who aspire higher, to the post of mirza or secretary, generally obtain a knowledge of phrase, trope, and compliment from the writings of the poets; and the intricacies of detail on these matters are endless – in fact, they are a science.

The tales of 'Saadi', and a smattering of Arabic, form the climax of what is learnt at school.

At many village schools a few only of the boys learn to write, or to read. This power of reading they soon lose, but a villager has little occasion for it, and the repeating from memory of a few prayers, and passages from the Koran, with some verses of poetry, is generally all that remains to the villager of his education.

The quotation of poetry in Persia is universal; it is in every man's mouth from highest to lowest . . .

A few boys, after leaving school [i.e., *maktab*], proceed to college ('medresseh'). These are intended for the priesthood, the law, or medicine.

There seems to be no regular courses.

The student studies Arabic sedulously, and reads a good deal in a desultory sort of way, much time being devoted to poetry and commentaries on the Koran . . .

After a few years of assiduously imitating the great man [*taqlid* (imitation), the Shi'i principle of imitating the source of imitation, or *marja'-i taqlid*], the young priest or lawyer is, perhaps, sent to a small village, where he may become pedagogue and parson, or he elects to follow the fortunes of some grandee, as secretary on no wages, with possible opportunities of modakel (peculation).

Or, if a doctor's son or relative, he compounds his drugs for a year, and then is a full-blown hakim, or physician, and, setting up in some distant town, . . . he may earn a very comfortable living.

. . . The daughters of the rich and learned are the only women who are at all educated; some of them are good readers and reciters of poetry, and can even write verse themselves; but most of the educated women can merely write a letter and read the Koran, or an ordinary Persian story-book, the former *without comprehension*,

it being in Arabic. A great deal of their time is given to poetry, and they are all of a very sentimental turn. About one woman to fifty educated men is found, the policy of Mahomedanism being 'not to open the eyes of a woman too wide.'

Among the educated class many are infidels . . .²¹

As long as Iranians were distant from and mostly unaware of the advances of the West, they were content to remain as they were, retaining their agricultural or pastoral life and their religious and familial ties, living in their unindustrialized world, and mostly continuing to be illiterate. They were dominated by their traditions and beliefs which prevented them from developing their country's potentialities and innate capabilities.²² This situation continued, without major change, until the violent encounter with the West at the beginning of the nineteenth century which put into gear the long process of introducing modern education and schools into Iran.²³

Although the first steps towards introducing modern education in Iran were taken by Iranians (e.g., 'Abbas Mirza and his minister, Qa'im-Maqam II), mainly through sending students to study abroad and bringing military instructors to train Iranian soldiers, the first steps in introducing modern schools in Iran were taken by foreigners. From the 1830s to the end of the nineteenth century, American, French, British, German and Russian schools were the main channels through which modern elementary and secondary education was brought, first to the ethnic minorities and later to upper- and middle-class Iranians as well.

EARLY FOREIGN SCHOOLS, THE 1830s TO THE 1850s: THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH MISSIONARY SCHOOLS²⁴

The Period of High-Profile Activity: The 1830s and 1840s

Schools of the American Presbyterian Church

The first modern school to open in Iran seems to have been the one founded by a few German missionaries from the Basel Mission in around 1830 in Tabriz.²⁵ However, this school did not last and closed three years later, due to scarcity of students.²⁶ A much longer-lasting attempt took place in Urmia, when the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Church, headed by the Reverend Justin Perkins, who had arrived there two years earlier, set up a school in 1836.²⁷ The mission's primary task was to revive the ancient Nestorian Church of the East, and to this end they established schools and hospitals and engaged in Christian education and evangelism. The initial target group was the children of the Nestorian Christians of Azerbaijan, whom the American missionaries wished to convert to Protestantism, but it seems to have been more important for them to convert the Muslim population.²⁸ It was initially forbidden for Muslim children to attend the missionary schools, mainly because Perkins refused to exclude religious instruction from the curriculum,²⁹ although later in the century, and notwithstanding the religious instruction, Muslim children were allowed to attend church schools.

In 1836 the American mission at Urmia also established three primary schools in nearby villages, and two years later, in spite of local objections, set up a girls' school in the same town.³⁰ In 1840 Asahel Grant, the mission doctor, established a medical school

which was attended by seven Muslims for a period of two to three years.³¹ In the same year, the mission also established a printing press to produce materials for use in the school.³²

The first of Perkins's schools (for boys) started with 7 male students, and the numbers had already increased to 50 by 1848. Apart from learning the Syriac alphabet, the students studied literature and science, carpet weaving and iron smithing, while the more advanced students were taught English as well. By 1879 the school had produced 122 graduates.³³ The students in the village schools were taught basic reading and religious instruction, with the average total number of students over the period 1837–47 standing at approximately 530.³⁴ At the girls' school, the students were taught reading and household skills as well as religious studies.³⁵

The Iranian government looked with favour on the work of the American missionaries, as was evident from the *firmans* (edicts) from the prince-governor of Azerbaijan and the shah himself that offered them protection. A royal decree encouraged Perkins to increase his efforts and to teach 'the science of history, geography, geometry and mathematics [among] our subjects' with even greater zeal, while those who wished to harm the missionaries or interfere with their work (such as jealous Iranian officials and notables) were brought to justice, at times by order of the royal family.³⁶

Schools of the French Lazarist Order

The success of the American Protestant mission in Iran encouraged the British Anglican, French Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches to send missionaries of their own to Iran, but it was the missionaries of the French Lazarist Catholic Order who constituted the real competitors of the Americans. Since relations with Britain in 1838 were strained over the First Herat Crisis, and those with Russia were not good because of the construction of port facilities at Anzali, (and probably also because the Russians refrained from providing military assistance to the Iranian army against the Afghans and the British in the First Herat Crisis), the Iranian government, for its part, had welcomed the arrival of Félix Édouard Comte de Sercey, the French ambassador to the shah's court in 1839. This gave the Lazarists unprecedented advantages.³⁷

In 1837 Eugène Boré, a Lazarist priest, had come to Iran as a representative of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and with the support of the French Foreign Minister, François Guizot, with the aim of opening schools in which French and modern sciences would be taught. On 6 November 1838 he arrived in Tabriz, and in 1839, having obtained the necessary *firmans*, he opened an elementary school in that city – the first in Iran where students from different religions (Shi'i Muslims and Christian Armenians) were brought together.³⁸ He seems correctly to have identified the existence of religious studies as the reason behind the official taboo on the attendance of Muslim students in missionary schools,³⁹ and therefore decided to exclude religious studies from the school curriculum, which would instead be based on the curriculum taught in French schools; that is, it would be composed of French language and literature, philosophy and modern sciences. Boré believed that in order to attract Muslim students to Catholicism, it would be sufficient to create doubt in their minds, and this could be achieved through religion-free education. In fact this strategy proved, for various reasons, to be very

successful in attracting Muslim students: first, because when the school opened, only 3 out of the total of 14 students were Armenian, with the rest being Muslims; secondly, because around 20 members of the Qajar royal court studied there free of charge, one of whom was Crown Prince Nasir al-Din Mirza; and third, because Boré had established five additional schools in the area by late 1839. He also managed to open a school in Isfahan in 1840,⁴⁰ with 31 students, 5 of whom were Muslims; and in the same year Fathers Cluzel and Darnis founded a boys' school in Khusrauabad, a village near Salmas.⁴¹

The popularity and success of Boré's educational activities caused much concern, envy and jealousy among foreign and traditional elements in Iran, but especially among the rival American mission and the Armenian community in New Julfa on the outskirts of Isfahan, and in Azerbaijan. Although the school in Julfa closed after Boré had left that city, and the one in Tabriz closed after he departed from Iran, this was not the end of French missionary activity in the field of education, but rather was only its beginning. Before leaving the country, Boré had persuaded the French Lazarist Fathers to send a mission to Iran.⁴² The maltreatment of the Lazarists and their schools persuaded the French government to seek decrees for the protection of the Lazarist schools, and once those had been obtained, the schools could flourish. By 1848 the French Lazarists were operating 26 boys' schools, with a total of 400 students, and 6 girls' schools.⁴³

The Period of Low-Profile Activity: The 1850s

A number of factors had a cumulative effect in lowering the intensity of missionary educational activities during the 1850s. The Babi movement, which began in 1844, posed a major threat to the position of the Shi'i 'ulama'. In order to contain it, the 'ulama' began to press the state to put an end to the movement, while seeking at the same time to heighten religious conservatism, one element of which could have been a stronger and firmer opposition to foreigners and their presence in Iran. The clashes between the Babis and the Qajar state (1848–50), and particularly the failed assassination attempt on Nasir al-Din Shah (1852), probably made the young shah quite nervous, sensitive and cautious (politically speaking) and especially in relation to people, such as the missionaries, who were not under state control. This change of attitude was felt in 1853 by Perkins, who reported on the restrictions being imposed by the state on missionary religious and educational activity.⁴⁴

Domestically, 1853 was the year of a major persecution move against the Babis, while, externally, the Iranian army began its preparations in that year to capture Herat in Afghanistan. Unlike the previous attempt (during the 1830s) to take the Afghani city, this time (1856) the Iranians were successful, but were forced to withdraw their army because of British threats to use force against them, a situation that led finally to the Anglo-Iranian War of 1856–7. Indeed, Perkins attested that the measures against them heightened during that war.⁴⁵ Thus, missionary activity confronted state animosity during the 1850s, and this also affected the missions' educational activity. State policy towards the Christian missions began to change for the better only from the 1860s onwards. During the interregnum, the state itself made a few, but nonetheless important attempts at educational reform in Iran.

THE DAR AL-FUNUNS OF TEHRAN AND TABRIZ: THE 1850s AND IRAN'S FIRST STATE-RUN MODERN SCHOOLS

The Tehran Dar al-Funun

The Dar al-Funun was an Iranian response to the needs of a society which was facing a new world. This society understood the need for cultural changes and, more than at any time in the past, was aware – through such modern means as newspapers – of its own weak points compared to the strengths of the West. It had observed the foreign (American and European) schools in Iran, and concluded that it needed to found a modern school within the framework of the reforms.

By 1848, when Crown Prince Nasir al-Din Mirza made his way from Tabriz to Tehran to be crowned as the new shah, the Iranian contribution to promoting modern education in the country was limited mainly to the sending abroad of some 24 students, 11 under Fath-'Ali Shah and 13 under Muhammad Shah.⁴⁶ In addition, a number of military missions had been invited to train sections of the Iranian army (mainly the provincial army of Azerbaijan), but the main emphasis of this training was on military instruction, and no effort was made to establish any kind of infrastructure for modern education. The only enduring step was to permit the operation of the missionary schools, as described above. However, as these were limited to two major locations (Urmia and Tabriz), and mainly served the Christian population, the only option open to the vast majority of Shi'i Iranians, most of whom could not even afford them, remained the traditional *maktabs* and madrasas. If Iran was to lay a durable foundation for the modernization of education, more drastic measures were needed, and it took an able, strong and resolutely reform-minded prime minister (*sadr-i a'zam*), such as Mirza Taqi Khan Farahani Amir Kabir to make the attempt.

Immediately after being appointed as prime minister to the newly crowned Nasir al-Din Shah, Amir Kabir moved to initiate a series of reforms, the most enduring of which was the establishment of the prestigious Dar al-Funun – the first state-run educational institution in modern Iran aimed at teaching modern subjects (namely, Western sciences and technology).⁴⁷ Amir Kabir had been exposed to modern education and schools on a number of occasions and in nearby countries. During the late 1820s he had stayed for some time in Russia, and in the 1840s he had spent around four years in the Ottoman Empire as part of the Iranian negotiating team in Erzurum. Furthermore, as the holder of high positions both military and civil in the provincial administration of Azerbaijan, he had probably also become acquainted with the missionary schools established by the Americans and the French.

All this exposure to modern education and schools probably led Amir Kabir to believe that the former policies of sending students abroad and recruiting foreign military advisers were not sufficient to train the growing number of people needed to implement substantive reform measures.⁴⁸ Such measures were also very expensive. He realized that many more students could be educated and trained, at a much lower cost to the state treasury, at a modern school inside Iran; and furthermore, they would no longer be exposed to unchecked foreign influences, of which he was very suspicious. However, being fully aware of the fact that Iran lacked suitable teachers to teach at the new school, Amir Kabir also understood that it was necessary to employ European teachers; and if

that was the case, then his preference was to employ them from European countries that were not politically involved with Iran, such as Austria, Italy, France and Germany.⁴⁹ In other words, Amir Kabir understood that the presence of certain foreigners could be both an advantage and useful.

The Dar al-Funun was officially inaugurated in Tehran on 5 Rabi' I 1268/29 December 1851. The 105 students accepted for the first year were between 14 and 15 years old, came mostly from the Iranian aristocracy and had diverse educational backgrounds. They were enrolled in the seven main subjects, as follows: infantry (30), cavalry (5), artillery (26), engineering (12), medicine (20), pharmacy (7) and mining (5). The curriculum included also such subjects as foreign languages (French, English and Russian), mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, painting and music. Most of these subjects had never been taught before in Iran. The teachers were Europeans, and foreign-educated Iranians were used as translators.⁵⁰ The course of study lasted six years, and the first students graduated in 1858.

Over the years student enrolment increased, to reach 200 in 1871 and 255 in 1889. At the same time, the percentage of students studying military sciences fell from over 70 per cent in 1851 to under 30 per cent in the late 1880s, with increasing numbers studying medicine, physics, chemistry and foreign languages.⁵¹ During the institution's first 40 years of operation, some 1,100 students in total graduated from the Dar al-Funun.⁵²

The Tabriz Dar al-Funun

In 1858–9,⁵³ a polytechnic that was also named *Dar al-Funun* (or *Madrasib-yi Daulati*), and that was set up on similar lines to the one in Tehran, was founded in Tabriz by order of Nasir al-Din Shah. Since Tabriz under the Qajars had become the seat of the Qajar crown prince, and since Muzaffar al-Din Mirza held that position, the school was also known as *Muzaffari* or *Muzaffariyyih*.⁵⁴ The students were mainly from the cadre of top government officials and courtiers, and most of the teachers were graduates of the Tehran Dar al-Funun. The curriculum consisted of the subjects taught in Tehran's Dar al-Funun, and included some purely military subjects, such as infantry and artillery, alongside medicine, geometry, French and Persian.⁵⁵ The first student body⁵⁶ was composed of 21 state and 50 non-state students, the former referring to students whose food and clothes were covered by the state.⁵⁷ Like its Tehran counterpart, the school was under the control of the Ministry of Education, and the head of the Tabriz Telegraphs – usually a high-ranking officer – was also appointed as the school's head; the first head was Mirza Javad Khan Sarhang Sa'd al-Daulih.⁵⁸

In May 1881 the daily newspaper *Akhtar* reported the closure of the school due to difficulties in covering its expenses. In a series of reports on the state of education domestically and elsewhere in the Middle East, *Akhtar* described the poor state of education in Iran while praising the situation in Egypt, where, by contrast, 227,500 students were enrolled in 5,370 schools (*maktabs*), and where more than 3,000 students studied free of charge in state schools.⁵⁹ Apparently *Akhtar's* criticisms were effective, since a few months later, in August 1881, the newspaper reported the school's reopening. This seems to have been made possible through donations by local philanthropists.⁶⁰ The school finally closed down in mid-1897.⁶¹

Other state activity in the field of modern education included the foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1856–7, and the appointment of ‘Ali-Quli Mirza I’tizad al-Saltanīh as the first Minister of Education. In 1859 a group of 42 students, most of whom were recent graduates of the Dar al-Funun, were sent by I’tizad al-Saltanīh to Paris to continue their higher education. Many of them – such as Mirza Mahmud Ihtisham al-Saltanīh and ‘Ali Khan Nazim al-‘Ulum – managed to play a major role in founding and building up modern schools during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah.⁶² All this activity seemed to herald the dawn of a new era for modern education in Iran and the state’s involvement in it. Certainly the educational reforms proposed by I’tizad al-Saltanīh at the beginning of 1860 were intended to expand the grounds and workshops of the Dar al-Funun, and to increase the number of both students and teaching staff, all with the aim of training larger numbers of government cadres and officials.⁶³ But these reforms did not materialize.

In addition to laying the foundations for state-run modern education and the sciences in Iran, the Dar al-Fununs (in Tehran and Tabriz) became the means for the propagation of modern culture and European civilization throughout the society. By introducing examples of European ideas and institutions, the Dar al-Funun brought a new type of young Iranian into existence, while producing a more cosmopolitan outlook among older scholars, writers and intellectuals.

MIXED TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY IN IRAN: THE 1860s TO THE LATE 1890s

The Qajar State: Low-Profile Activity

Opposition to the Dar al-Funun – from within the influential court circle (such as the prime minister, Mirza Aqa Khan Nuri) and from outside it (mainly the Shi’i clergy), as well as from diplomatic circles (mainly the British) – managed to dampen Nasir al-Din Shah’s earlier enthusiasm for the new school. His suspicions about the Faramush-khanīh – the Masonic club founded in 1858 by Mirza Malkum Khan – as being anti-monarchical, subversive in nature and associated with Babis,⁶⁴ were sufficient for the shah to close it down in 1861.⁶⁵ And although the fact that the majority of its members were drawn from among the teaching staff and students of the Dar al-Funun was not a sufficient reason for the shah to close the polytechnic, it was still enough for him to slow down the expansion of modern education and new schools (those aimed at the Muslim population).⁶⁶ He grew increasingly mistrustful of the students educated in the European system and was particularly concerned about the consequences if European ideas of justice and fair government were to gain popularity among the populace. In addition to his fears about Britain and Russia (whose interests dictated that Iran should remain backward), Nasir al-Din Shah was extremely aware and fearful of clerical opposition to change in general, and in education – one of their power bases – in particular.⁶⁷ As a result of these fears and suspicions, there was a halt in the progress of modern education and schools in Iran.⁶⁸

Thus, for the next decade or so – which was mainly characterized by the shah’s decision to rule without a prime minister from 1858 to 1871 – the state took no major initiative in education, no students were sent abroad,⁶⁹ and the Dar al-Funun was eventually downgraded to a high school.⁷⁰ The fact that the state had decided in 1858 not to

appropriate any more funds for modern education, and its conclusion that the number of students currently studying at the two Dar al-Fununs and about to be sent to Europe would be sufficient for service in the government, amply demonstrated the state's short-sightedness, as well as its lack of interest in, or urgency for, reform in the country.⁷¹ However, once the post of prime minister had been filled again, by a reformist individual, a new initiative was undertaken.

In 1871 Nasir al-Din Shah decided to appoint Mirza Husayn Khan Qazvini, who was his ambassador to the Sublime Porte (1858–70) and his newly appointed Minister of Endowments and Justice (1870), as the new prime minister, to whom he granted the title of *Mushir al-Daulih*. Like Amir Kabir, Mirza Husayn Khan wished to introduce reforms aimed at improving the state's administration and centralization as well as its military and international standing.⁷² For that, he needed educated cadres, and meeting that goal would require educational reforms as well as the establishment of new schools and the improvement of existing ones.

During the previous decade (1861–71) the quality of the Tehran Dar al-Funun had deteriorated to such a state that, according to one of its students, it no longer provided much more than an elementary level of education.⁷³ The situation was no better in the Tabriz Dar al-Funun, which had always lagged behind its Tehran counterpart in all aspects. Its deteriorating conditions resulted in a decline in the student population, and the Tabriz school closed in 1897.⁷⁴

In spite of his good intentions, Mirza Husayn Khan's brief tenure as prime minister (1871–3), which was a direct result of the growing opposition to him (as had been the case with Amir Kabir), prevented him from making any noticeable changes in the field of education. Nevertheless, he managed to establish three schools, each of which was probably intended to produce the necessary cadres for the three main fields of administration, diplomacy and the military: the *Maktab-i Mushiriyih* (later known as *Madrasah-yi Nasiri*)⁷⁵ seems to have been aimed at providing suitable administrative staff while the *Dar al-Tarjumih* and *Madrasah-yi Nizami* were to provide educated cadres for the diplomatic corps and the military.⁷⁶

Beyond this, the state did not contribute much towards modern education in Iran. The establishment of two military schools – *Madrasah-yi Humayuni*, in 1882–3 in Isfahan, and *Madrasah-yi Nizami* in 1884–5 in Tehran⁷⁷ – was probably an exception, rather than a rule, and was aimed more at strengthening the army and centralizing the state than at providing a venue for general modern education. The main reason behind the laxity in state involvement in establishing more modern schools in Iran seems to have been connected directly to the policy dictated by Nasir al-Din Shah himself. High state officials pointed in their memoirs to Nasir al-Din's anxiety about the negative effects of modern education on the populace (i.e., his Muslim subjects).

According to Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih, the shah's private secretary (1873–96), Nasir al-Din, believing that illiterate people could not endanger his throne, wished his people to know and to be concerned with Iran alone, and not to have any knowledge about other countries. This was why he ignored the appeals of Amin al-Daulih and Ihtisham al-Saltanih (a leading educational activist) to establish modern state or public schools. The shah seems to have made his views on the subject known to all, since even those who knew about European countries did not dare to make any

comment that might give them away.⁷⁸ Moreover, the Shi'i clergy, who regarded modern schools as a challenge to their prerogative and supremacy in the realm of education, might also have applied pressure to the shah. Nasir al-Din might well have become even more sensitive to such pressures after the opposition had moved against the grant of the Reuter Concession (1870–2). By playing a leading role during this movement, the Shi'i 'ulama' had demonstrated their power and had forced the shah, with the help of other pressure groups, to cancel the concession.

It seems also that certain Europeans close to Nasir al-Din had helped nourish his fears. For example, during the Tobacco Protest, the shah saw a sign in one of the streets of Tehran on which was written 'Madrasah-yi Faransavi' (French School). When he asked the Comte de Montfort, his Austrian chief of police, about this, de Montfort, who probably held grudges against the French, told the shah that the sign was that of the Alliance Française (AF),⁷⁹ which was actually a 'Freemason-like . . . society for revolutionary and religious propaganda', while the people behind it were 'equally as dangerous as the Babis.'⁸⁰ This frightened the shah so much that he ordered the closure of the school and of the AF. The French ambassador to Iran believed that the British were behind this scheme. In the opinion of Robert John Kennedy, the British chargé d'affaires to Iran at the time, the shah was prepared to close down all foreign schools in Iran since he feared that they promoted revolutionary thoughts.⁸¹

Additionally, it appears that although he had initially supported reform, Nasir al-Din was increasingly questioning its potential benefits compared to its negative repercussions, especially with regard to himself and the stability of his regime. He seems to have liked the idea of having the former and rejecting the latter, but reality had proved to him that it was impossible simultaneously for Iran to modernize and progress while he remained an absolute monarch. He had permitted the foundation of the Dar al-Funun and as a young monarch had even been excited by it, but as he got older, and as the anti-reform camp at the court and in the society grew stronger and more vocal, Nasir al-Din Shah became more cautious and pulled back on the reins of reform, including state activity and involvement in developing modern education. This situation worsened after the shah had confronted major upheavals and popular opposition movements, such as those against the Reuter Concession in the early 1870s and the Tobacco Regie in the early 1890s.

The shah's attitude caused reform-minded individuals to conclude that any serious attempt at reform was futile as long as Nasir al-Din Shah reigned. Such a conclusion did not encourage reformist initiatives, and thus reformist activity in the latter decades of his rule was restricted mainly to the realm of theory, i.e., the proliferation of reformist thought. Even so, Nasir al-Din Shah seems at the same time to have balanced this standstill in the modernization of education by slackening the reins as far as local and foreign non-Muslim educational activity was concerned, and as long as the target clientele remained mostly Iran's non-Muslim population. According to Shi'i law, those individuals were considered *najis* (impure), were viewed as second-rate citizens at best, and had never been regarded as a political threat.⁸² Combined with growing European interests in Iran from the 1860s and especially in the 1870s, this situation paved the way for renewed modern, high-profile educational activity on the part of non-Muslims.

Non-Muslim Religious Missions, Minorities and Cultural Organizations: High-Profile Activity

During the 1860s, and increasingly from the 1870s onwards, Iran saw a dramatic rise in educational activity among foreign religious missions and cultural organizations, as well as local officially recognized religious minorities, especially in establishing modern schools.⁸³ Although the original understanding between the state and these missions and organizations had suggested that such activities and schools would be aimed at the local non-Muslim population, the lack of sufficient modern schools for Muslims, on the one hand, and the growing popularity of modern education, on the other, drove the Muslim population towards the foreign and minority schools in growing numbers, thus further underscoring the need for more modern schools. The establishment of foreign and minority schools in Iran was also supported by certain foreign governments with political and/or economic interests in Iran; these governments soon came to regard such schools as another means of serving their own foreign policy concerns vis-à-vis Iran.

The Activities of the Foreign Religious Missions

Compared to the earlier period of their educational activity in Iran (during the 1830s and 1840s), the foreign religious missions now began (1) to grow in number, (2) to intensify their activity in the Christian areas, (3) to move also into cities and towns that were not predominantly Christian and (4) to receive students from other religions (especially Muslims).

The American Presbyterian Missions

As well as intensifying their educational activities in Urmia and Salmas, the American Presbyterian Church opened new missions and schools in Tabriz (for girls in 1873 and for boys in 1880), in Tehran (for boys in 1872: this later became the famous Alburz College;⁸⁴ for Armenians in 1873; for girls in 1874: this was named the Iran Bethel School; and for Jews in 1875), in Hamadan (1880), in Rasht (1906) and in Qazvin (1906).⁸⁵ The earlier decree by Muhammad Shah that no Muslim girls should be permitted to attend the missionary schools was apparently revoked under Nasir al-Din Shah, who, when requested to do so by Samuel G. W. Benjamin, the American ambassador to Tehran, allowed Muslim girls to attend the American missionary school.⁸⁶

In 1895–6 Miss Jane Dolittle opened an American girls' school in Tehran, which operated as the Nurbakhsh High School.⁸⁷ By then, one of the most important, if not the most important, girls' schools in Tehran was the Franco-Persian Intermediate School, founded by Yusif Khan Richard Mu'addab al-Mulk, the French teacher at the Dar al-Funun. It began as a private class and later became known as one of the best girls' schools in Tehran, with a laboratory and audio-visual equipment.⁸⁸

The French Catholic Missions

The French Lazarists, as discussed above, were more active than the American missionaries in the field of education. They were joined from 1856 by the Filles de la Charité (Daughters of Charity) – another order that, like the Lazarists, had been founded in France by St Vincent de Paul in the seventeenth century. Working together, they opened schools for both boys and girls,⁸⁹ and by 1875 they were operating 26 boys' and

10 girls' schools in Urmia (with 400 and 418 students, respectively), while their schools in the surrounding countryside attracted over 700 pupils. Later the number of schools operated, and students taught, by the Lazarists in Urmia began to decline, but increased in the countryside, so that the total number of students studying in Lazarist schools remained the same.⁹⁰ The decline may have been the result of growing competition in Urmia from the American mission and local minority schools, whereas the Lazarists did not face such competition in the villages, and could therefore prosper.

Two other major cities in which the Lazarists had already opened schools for both boys and girls were Tabriz and Isfahan. In Tabriz the two orders established three schools for boys (1863, 1884, and 1901), and two for girls (1863 and 1865), while in Isfahan they set up two boys' schools (1875 and 1904) and three for girls (1863, 1875 and 1904). Mas'ud Mirza Zill al-Sultan, the powerful governor of Isfahan, supported these schools and even awarded them a yearly stipend.⁹¹

Soon after establishing a mission in the capital city, Tehran, in 1861, the Lazarists opened the St Louis Boys' School, named in 1862, and the first Catholic mission school to be established in Tehran. Half of the 15 students enrolled were Muslims, and during their five years of schooling they studied general subjects, as taught in French schools (such as French language and literature, world history and geography, arithmetic and painting), as well as subjects pertaining to Iran or that had traditionally been taught there (e.g., Iranian history and geography and calligraphy). Islamic instruction was provided outside the school. In 1909 enrolment had already reached 140.⁹²

The St Joseph School was the first girls' school opened by the French in Tehran. It was established in 1875 by the Daughters of Charity. Apart from reading and writing, French, and some history and geography, students were taught housekeeping skills such as sewing and ironing. The main student body came from European families residing in Tehran and from the capital's Armenian community, but also included a small number of Muslim girls.⁹³ In 1899 another Catholic missionary society opened the St Zita (Sheil) Sisters' School (Madrasah-yi Khaharan-i Saint Zita [Sheil]), while the Daughters of Charity founded the Jeanne d'Arc School in 1900.⁹⁴ These schools taught English and French as foreign languages.

In addition the Lazarists opened another four schools (one in 1881 and three in 1894). In 1896 they founded the École Supérieure (or Madrasah-yi 'Aali), in which the mainly Christian student body studied languages (French, Latin, Persian, Armenian and Syriac), history, geography and sciences, as well as religion.⁹⁵

The British Protestant Missions

The British were second after the Americans in entering into missionary activity in Iran. They began exploring the situation in the early 1840s,⁹⁶ but their influence, especially in terms of educational activity, seems to have been felt much later than that of the American and French missions. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a few years after the Anglo-Iranian War of 1856–7, circumstances were more suited to strengthening the educational aspect of their general missionary activities.

The Church Missionary Society of London

In 1869, while on their way to India, the missionary Robert Bruce and his wife Emily,

from the Church Missionary Society of London (CMS), stayed in Iran in order to improve their Persian. They based themselves in New Julfa, where in 1872, helped by money sent from Germany to assist the famine-stricken people of the area, they established a small orphanage and a vocational school that served both Muslims and Armenians. By 1882 the school was providing women with employment skills in weaving, shoemaking and tailoring,⁹⁷ as well as helping them to memorize long portions of the scriptures and read the ancient Armenian Bible.⁹⁸ The Bruces managed to provoke opposition from both the Armenian Church and the Shi'i 'ulama', for most of the school's students were members of the Armenian Church, while Muslim students accounted for just under 25 per cent of the school's enrolment. Nevertheless, the school was fully supported by Zill al-Sultan, who gave it official protection.⁹⁹

At about the same time, and at the request of the Armenian community, the Bruces set up two more schools, one for boys (run by the Armenian community) and one for girls (run by Emily Bruce).¹⁰⁰ In spite of the constant agitation and disturbances that disrupted its work, the boys' school continued to grow in size, influence and prestige.¹⁰¹ Praising the educational work of the CMS, C. J. Wills noted that the school's energetic young British-educated teacher, Mr Juhannes, formerly a master in the Nassick School in India, had managed to effect wonders: 'The boys, really well educated, go off at about seventeen to India, and get their living respectably.'¹⁰² The pupils in the boys' school were taught what a pupil in a middle-class school in England was taught, while 'the upper form proceed to the first four books of Euclid, Algebra, Latin, and French, in which . . . a thorough grounding is given.'¹⁰³

By 1877 the Bruces had also begun English classes for boys and girls, although Muslim boys were forbidden by the local 'ulama' to enrol. Until 1895 attendance at these classes was sporadic, but then 35 boys attended for a full year without disruption.¹⁰⁴

Only in 1875, some six years after the Bruces had arrived, did the CMS officially begin its work in Iran. According to an agreement reached between the CMS and the American missionaries in 1895, the country was then divided into two spheres of missionary activity, with the northern part (including Tehran) recognized as an American preserve, while the southern area (from Isfahan southwards) was under the wing of the CMS.¹⁰⁵ The schools opened by the CMS were therefore in Isfahan¹⁰⁶ and in other important cities to the south, such as Kirman, Shiraz and Yazd. The CMS missionaries founded two schools in Kirman. One was for boys (1897); the one for girls was opened considerably later (1921). The same pattern occurred in Shiraz, where a boys' school (1900) was followed much later by one for girls (1926). Only in Yazd did the schools for boys and girls open in the same year (1900), with a student body that included both Muslims and Zoroastrians. The most famous CMS schools were the Bihisht-i Aayin school in Isfahan (established in 1900) and the Mihr-i Aayin schools in Yazd and Shiraz.¹⁰⁷

The CMS was not the only British missionary society operating in Iran; other British missions operated in the country from around 1875 onwards.

The Church of England

In 1885–6 a small mission with limited resources was established by the Archbishop of Canterbury among the Christian Assyrian population in the north-west of Iran. During

its first two years the mission was already running a small educational mission, composed of four schools for boys, most of whom were boarders. There were two schools in Urmia itself and two in the surrounding districts. One of these schools was exclusively for ordinands for the priesthood. Through a hand printing press the mission was able to supply the students with textbooks, portions of the scriptures, a catechism, a service book and a Persian-Assyrian grammar for those who knew no Persian.¹⁰⁸ Four Anglican nuns from England joined this educational venture in 1890 and started a boarding school for Assyrian girls. However, the mission closed at the start of the First World War.¹⁰⁹

The Church's Mission to the Jews

The Church's Mission to the Jews (CMJ), also known as the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, was another important British religious organization, which specifically targeted the Jewish community in Iran. It began its missionary activities as early as the mid-1820s when its first missionary, Joseph Wolff, travelled through Iran from Bushihr to Tabriz, and again in 1844,¹¹⁰ when the CMJ sent a three-man 'Mission to the Jews of Chaldea and Persia.'¹¹¹ A permanent mission was established in Isfahan some years later, and educational activities began considerably later, under Mirza Nurullah and the Reverend James Garland, first in Tehran and later in Isfahan (in Julfa and Jubara) from 1890. Apart from the British Embassy school (which was for the children of Britons working in Iran), the only British schools (for boys and girls) in the capital Tehran were provided by the CMJ. These schools operated until 1968, when the CMJ's work was fully and officially integrated into the work of the Anglican Diocese of Iran, while those in Isfahan finally closed in 1928, due mainly to unfavourable Iranian government policies.¹¹²

Apart from providing a modern education, the Christian missions (whose gradual penetration into Iran occurred mainly during the second half of the nineteenth century) formed an important contact channel through which Iranians – at first mostly Christians, but later also Muslims – could familiarize themselves with the views and attitudes of other cultures and language groups within as well as outside Iran. Although the main missions operating in Iran were American, French and British, there were a number of others, including German (under the Lutheran Church of Germany), Swedish (sent by the Mission Friends of Sweden), and Russian (sent by the Greek Catholic Church of Russia).¹¹³ These latter were barely active in education, but their missionary activities within the country increased the already existing rivalry between the various missions.

The Activities of the Foreign Cultural Organizations

The Alliance Française

The 'Association nationale pour la propagation de la langue française dans les colonies et à l'étranger' was created in 1883 with the clear aim of propagating the French language and culture abroad, in the French colonies and elsewhere. This national association was named the *Alliance Française* (AF), and on 10 March 1884 its board of directors was

established in Paris. There were illustrious names among the board members, including Ferdinand de Lesseps (diplomat and promoter of the Suez Canal), Louis Pasteur (chemist and biologist), Ernest Renan (writer), and Jules Verne (novelist).¹¹⁴

The association proposed to achieve its goal partly by support for the already existing schools in which French was taught, but mainly through the establishment of new French schools abroad. The AF immediately began its global expansion (1884), and the first European city to welcome it was Barcelona, from where the AF spread throughout Spain and the rest of Europe. It also began operations in Senegal, Mauritius and Mexico in 1884, and in 1889 moved into Asia, with India as the first, but not the only, Asian country for its cultural activity.¹¹⁵ The AF also opened its first two branches in Iran in 1889: one in Tehran and one in Shiraz. While Franco-Iranian relations had their ups and downs, usually depending on the balance of power in Europe, French cultural influence in Iran seems always to have remained strong.¹¹⁶ The Persian committee of the AF, formed in 1889–90, included influential and high-ranking Iranian officials, such as Kamran Mirza (the Nayib al-Saltanih), Mirza ‘Ali-Asghar Khan Amin al-Sultan (the prime minister), Mirza ‘Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih (the reformist statesman), and Ja‘far-Quli Khan Nayyir al-Mulk (the principal of the Tehran Dar al-Funun), alongside the French ambassador and Dr Feuvrier, who was elected as its chairman.¹¹⁷

The AF began its activities in Iran with an ambitious campaign to spread the teaching of French, and opened its first school in Tehran in 1890 with five students.¹¹⁸ However, chronic budgetary shortages, lack of efficient management and Nasir al-Din Shah’s fears and suspicions of Western liberal institutions (especially those of the French Revolution), as well as European rivalry and intrigues against French interests in Iran, slowed down the process of founding the AF’s schools. Only in 1899, under a new shah and with a new chairman and administrator of the AF in Iran, did this cultural organization begin to blossom. Beginning with 85 students in 1899, student enrolment (still only in Tehran) grew to 130 in 1904 and to 215 in 1910, with the majority of pupils being Muslims. The AF school in Tehran offered the six-year French elementary school curriculum which, apart from French, included English, mathematics, geography, physics and chemistry, and it had a laboratory for the latter two courses.¹¹⁹

In addition to the Tehran school, the AF opened schools in Rasht (1897), Burujird (1901), Tabriz (1902), and Shiraz (date unknown). It also offered financial subsidies and educational supplies and material to those schools in Iran which taught French, whether foreign (such as the Lazarist schools) or local (such as the Rushdiyyih and the Luqmaniyyih schools in Tabriz).¹²⁰

In a manner similar to French missionary or Masonic activity, the AF’s cultural activities also came to serve France’s political and commercial interests, and to become a tool for the promotion of those interests.¹²¹

The Alliance Israélite Universelle

The Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), the first worldwide Jewish organization, was founded in Paris in 1860 with the aim of defending Jews throughout the world; fighting for their religious, social and political rights wherever they were persecuted, suppressed or discriminated against; and encouraging all publications designed to achieve these results. Therefore anti-Semitism and solidarity among Jews were high on

its agenda.¹²² However, in the classic spirit of emancipation ideology, the AIU was convinced that Jews, especially those from 'backward' societies, had to change and regenerate themselves if they were to merit emancipation and benefit from the age of progress. It was this concern and understanding that underpinned the creation of the AIU's educational activity and the vast network of schools that it established in the Middle East and North Africa.¹²³

Although not founded to serve or aid the spread of French influence worldwide, the prominence given by the AIU to the teaching of French, and its missionary zeal to westernize (which in this case often meant Gallicize), led inevitably to a convergence with the aims of French foreign policy. This fact, whether intentionally or not, resulted, in practice, in the AIU serving French interests abroad.¹²⁴

The AIU opened its first school in Tetouan, Morocco, in 1862, and two years later opened schools in Damascus and Baghdad.¹²⁵ It was through the latter school that the Jews of Hamadan and Tehran made contact with the AIU headquarters in Paris, but the AIU's efforts during the following years to establish such schools in Iran remained ineffective.¹²⁶ An opportunity to make some progress on this issue eventually arose during the first visit of Nasir al-Din Shah to Europe. On 12 July 1873, members of the central committee of the AIU, led by Adolphe Cremieux, met Nasir al-Din Shah in Paris, where an agreement was reached and signed, according to which the shah gave his consent to the opening of AIU's schools in Iran.¹²⁷

In spite of this royal sanction, the first AIU school in Iran had to wait another 25 years to open. The main reason for the delay appears to have been a precondition set by the AIU for financial and economic support from the Jewish communities in Iran. Since the communities had to contend with limited budgets, it was impossible for them to comply with such a condition.¹²⁸ However, anti-Jewish feeling and opposition to the establishment of Jewish schools might well have played some role as well.

It was only in 1898 that the AIU finally succeeded in opening its first school in Iran. It was a boys' school in Tehran, with Joseph Cazès appointed as the head teacher. It served a Jewish community of 6,000, and enrolled 350 students in its first year of teaching. With more pupils joining during the year, the school had 421 students at the end of the year. Muzaffar al-Din Shah donated 200 *tumans* to the school, and Mirza Muhsin Khan Mushir al-Daulih, who gave an audience to a hundred of the school's pupils, added a donation of another 500 *tumans*.¹²⁹

In 1899 the AIU opened a girls' school and evening classes for adults. By 1905–6, student numbers at the boys' and girls' schools were 750 and 400, respectively, and by 1913–14 stood at 455 and 190, with Muslim students, particularly from rich families, also attending. Officially, tuition fees were paid, but the majority were exempt from paying fees, with poor and orphaned students also receiving free meals.¹³⁰

Apart from Tehran, the AIU opened schools in Hamadan (1900, with 350 boys and 250 girls, increasing in 1905 to 600 and 300, respectively), Isfahan (1901, with 220 boys and 75 girls, increasing to 400 and 270, respectively, after three years), Shiraz (1903, with 600 pupils, including 150 Jewish and non-Jewish girls), Sanandaj (1903), and Kirmanshah (1904, with about 250 boys and 150 girls). AIU also helped to establish modern schools for the Jewish communities in Tuysirkhan and Nihavand (1906), Kashan (1911), and Gulpayigan (1914).¹³¹

The AIU's schools saw their biggest rivals in their missionary counterparts, for the latter offered much more attractive terms for students and their families, especially the needy ones. Even so, and in spite of criticism from the local Jewish community,¹³² the AIU defended and guarded the interests of Iranian Jews and played a considerable part in preventing larger numbers of Jews from studying at the missionary schools. Furthermore, the modern education that it provided for Jewish students, especially in foreign languages, opened the gates of business, administration and trade, as well as providing contacts with other Jewish communities outside Iran, especially in Europe. This, in turn, caused Jews in other countries to show greater interest and involvement in the affairs and fate of their brethren in Iran. As far as the girls were concerned, the education that they received at the AIU schools played a major part in enabling them to continue their studies beyond the elementary level.¹³³

As noted above, apart from the American, French and British missions, other Christian missions operated in Iran in the field of education, but in this case their educational activities remained ineffective. For example, Russian missionaries established schools in Urmia in 1886 but faced the same difficulties there as they had encountered with their schools in Tabriz: being unfamiliar with Russian culture and manners, Iranians showed little inclination to register their children in these schools.¹³⁴ Also, given the violent history between their two countries, Iranians were quite hostile towards the Russians. These difficulties, combined with the fact that all the foreign literature translated in Iran was in French, led to the Russian missions supporting the French schools financially, in return for the inclusion of the Russian language in their curriculum.¹³⁵

As far as the non-missionary foreign schools were concerned, other countries did try to enter the educational arena in Iran, but managed to achieve only a tenuous foothold compared with the American, British and French schools. Nevertheless, some of the new foreign schools managed to position themselves at a high level in specific areas of education. For example, the first German school (Madrasih-yi Almani) was founded in Tehran in May 1907 as a result of a cultural agreement between the German Empire and Iran. The Iranian government funded 80 per cent of the school's budget of 15,000 *tumans*, while the Germans contributed only 20 per cent. From the start, the first-grade students studied German for nine hours a week. The school was well equipped with laboratories and sports facilities, and gained a good reputation. Enrolment grew steadily, and its contribution was mainly in providing cadres of students with more technical expertise.¹³⁶

Foreign schools' activity in Iran stopped in 1902–3 as a result of government policy, but many of the schools resumed activity after a short period.¹³⁷ It would seem that modern education and schools were not the only things that were becoming increasingly necessary to the Iranian state; they soon constituted another area into which European rivalry entered.

The Activities of the Local Religious Minorities

The intensification of missionary educational activity in Iran, which resulted in the

establishment of a growing number of schools, caused much concern among the leadership of various religious minorities in Iran, and acted as a catalyst for moving from *maktab*-like schools to modern schools.¹³⁸ Chief among those minorities were the Christians, namely Armenians and Assyrians. The American and French missions opened schools among these Christian groups, whom they regarded as their natural clientele. Lacking modern schools of their own, but at the same time fully aware of the benefits of modern education for themselves and for their children, many of these Iranian Christians began to send their children to the mission schools. This caused much concern among their religious and national leadership and activists, who understood that the only way to prevent a massive movement of children out of their own communities to study at competing missionary schools (not to mention the risk of children being removed from their original church and maybe even losing their national identity) was to establish modern schools themselves.

The Armenians

Among the various religious minorities in Iran, the Armenians were the pioneers in introducing a modern, Western style of education into their communities by themselves. Traditional Armenian schools, mainly teaching religion and geared towards educating children for the priesthood, had existed as early as the 1630s, but the move towards open, secular, Western-style schools was, in part, a way of countering the influence of the missionary schools. The latter posed a serious threat to the Armenian community since many of the Armenian children converted to the missionaries' brand of Christianity.¹³⁹ It was also partly due to concerns of the Armenian Church and the nationalists about the danger of cultural assimilation of those Armenians who lived in mixed neighbourhoods with other religious and ethnic minorities.¹⁴⁰

In Azerbaijan, the main Armenian centres were in Tabriz, Khuy and Salmas, and outside that province, in Isfahan (New Julfa), Tehran and Hamadan. Armenians had initially attempted to establish a modern school in Tabriz in 1854,¹⁴¹ but the Armenian Church made a more serious attempt to establish a modern Armenian school in 1875. Instead of the basic curriculum taught in traditional Armenian schools, which included literacy, religion and the Armenian language, the modern school curriculum was composed of Persian, foreign languages (French and Russian), geography and mathematics, as well as subjects aimed at preserving the students' Armenian identity (i.e., Armenian language, history and religion). Teachers were mainly Armenian, recruited from Armenian communities in the Caucasus (particularly Tiflis) and in Ottoman Armenia. The teachers, as well as school principals and their assistants, had received degrees from the Gevorgyan College of Echmiadzin or similar institutions.

Funds were provided partly from the taxes levied on the community for this purpose by the diocese. Again, in a move that seems to have become a habit of the later Qajar shahs (as well as the provincial governors), the Armenian School, like most modern schools established in Iran at the time, received a stipend from Nasir al-Din Shah and afterwards, too, from Muzaffar al-Din Shah.¹⁴² In total, the Armenian community of Tabriz had an elementary school and a kindergarten in each of the two Armenian districts of the city (Gala and Lilava), with their own libraries. The school at Lilava was later expanded to include nine grades, and a private kindergarten was later added in the same

district. In 1909 a secondary school, named the Armenian Central High School of Azerbaijan, was founded in Tabriz.¹⁴³

Soon afterwards other modern Armenian schools – mostly elementary but with a few intermediate schools as well – were established in other localities with large Armenian communities. The first attempt at establishing a modern Armenian school in Isfahan had already been made in 1843,¹⁴⁴ but more serious attempts were made in the 1870s. In total, there were three elementary schools, a kindergarten and a secondary school; the latter belonged to a co-educational school system run by the Gregorian Armenians, which also included an elementary school and a kindergarten with a total enrolment of 850 students, as well as a library.¹⁴⁵ Protestant Armenians also had a co-educational elementary school system, founded in 1873, with a specially built chapel and an enrolment of just over 100 students. The third elementary school was for girls and belonged to the Armenian Catholics. It had a student body of 50 girls.¹⁴⁶ In addition, there seems to have been an Armenian woman who held private classes in which, in addition to Persian, she taught such skills as rug weaving and tailoring.¹⁴⁷

The 1500-member Armenian community in Tehran had only one school,¹⁴⁸ but this modest testimony to the educational record of the Armenian community was at least partly due to the existence of so many alternative modern schools in the capital. Modern schools were also established by the Armenians in Hamadan.¹⁴⁹

The Armenian community also established some schools for girls, the first of which was opened in Tabriz in 1879 with 45 students.¹⁵⁰ Many Armenian women's associations and societies became heavily involved in this domain. For example, the Armenian Women's Benevolent Association of Tabriz, founded in 1891, not only provided financial aid for needy students, but also promoted the establishment of more girls' schools in the area. Similar women's associations were established later in Isfahan (1892) and Tabriz (1895). By 1904–5, the student body within the Armenian community was estimated at 6,000.¹⁵¹

The Assyrians and Nestorians

The Assyrians were probably the first religious minority to enjoy modern education in Iran. Almost all the Christian missions that operated in the country (beginning with the American Presbyterians in the 1830s) opened schools in towns such as Urmia and Salmas, and in the surrounding villages, which were populated by Assyrians. Soon after the arrival of the first missionaries in Urmia, the Assyrians found themselves possessed not only of schools, but also of printing-houses (which printed books and periodicals in their spoken languages), a hospital and even a university college, where, from 1885 to the end of the First World War, educational science, theology, philosophy and medicine were taught.¹⁵² This intensive activity on the part of the missionaries, and especially the schools and printing press that they established among the Assyrians, also helped to awaken the national self-consciousness of a people who had, since the Mongol invasion, fallen into illiteracy and lethargy.¹⁵³

Although much of the progress made in introducing modern education among the Assyrians was the result of Western missionary activity, local Assyrians also made some contributions. One of these was Moratkhan Knanishu, who, beginning in the 1870s, had been involved in educational work among the Nestorian Christians around Lake Urmia for more than 25 years. He established and maintained three schools there, and in 1892

Nasir al-Din Shah conferred upon him the title of *Millat Basbi* ('Head of the Nation') in recognition of his services as an educator.¹⁵⁴

The Zoroastrians

By the mid-nineteenth century, the impoverished situation of the Zoroastrian community in Iran had prompted their prospering brethren in India (the Parsis) to establish 'The Society for the Betterment of the Living Conditions of Zoroastrians'; in Iran this organization became known as 'The Society of Parsi Leaders' (*Anjuman-i Akabir-i Parsiyan*). Through the Society, donations to the Zoroastrian community in Iran took a more organized and efficient form. In March 1854, learning that one of the Parsi merchants in India named Maneckji Limji Hataria (also known as 'Maneckji Sahib'), was planning to travel to Iran on a personal tour, the Society gave him a sum of money and asked him to deliver it to the Zoroastrian community in Yazd for the repair of a *dakbmib* ('tower of silence', where the Zoroastrians placed their dead).¹⁵⁵ Thus, Maneckji was in effect the first representative of the Society sent to Iran.¹⁵⁶

As a British citizen, and due to his good contacts with British officials in India, Maneckji managed to secure official letters addressed to the British missions in Bushihr, Baghdad, Istanbul and Tehran, requesting their assistance. On his way to Iran by steamer, Maneckji met and befriended Mirza Husayn Khan Qazvini (later, the Mushir al-Daulih), who was returning from his mission as consul in Bombay. These contacts helped Maneckji greatly in improving the condition of his brethren in Iran.¹⁵⁷

After arriving at Bushihr in April 1854, Maneckji went first to Yazd – the location of the largest Zoroastrian community in Iran – and then to Kirman and Tehran, where he stayed for five-and-a-half years. He started by becoming acquainted with influential local people, while studying the difficulties experienced by the Zoroastrian community, and then began to address their problems by using his newly established contacts and the money which he had received from India, as well as his own funds.¹⁵⁸ He correctly identified the widespread problem of illiteracy as the most important cause of the backwardness of the Zoroastrians of Iran. As he himself remarked, they were 'a community [in which] hardly two out of a hundred had a useful profession or position.'¹⁵⁹

No educational initiative had been taken by the Zoroastrian community before Maneckji's arrival, since their conditions of deprivation made them send their children to work, rather than to school.¹⁶⁰ However, the situation began to change shortly after he reached Iran. By 1857 – three years after his arrival – two small primary schools had already been set up in Kirman and Yazd, and when he arrived in Iran for a second visit in 1865, a two-shift intermediate school was founded in Tehran. In spite of intense opposition from the local Muslims, the state lifted the *jizya* (religious minority poll-tax) on the Zoroastrians¹⁶¹ as well as the official ban on Zoroastrian schools in 1870, and by 1882 the measures had enabled the community to establish an educational system consisting of 12 schools, including schools in villages and a boarding school in Tehran. For the teaching of Persian literature in the latter school Maneckji hired the services of Mirza Abu al-Fazl Gulpaygani, a Baha'i scholar and promoter, who became Maneckji's secretary.¹⁶² Maneckji himself promised to cover not only all the expenses of Zoroastrian children whose parents were willing to send them to study at the Tehran school for a

five-year period, but also to pay them the equivalent of the income lost by their children not working. These schools, all staffed by qualified Parsi/Zoroastrian teachers from India as well as by their own graduates, offered a secular education based on reading and writing, arithmetic and geometry, geography, as well as Zoroastrian religious studies; later they also offered English.¹⁶³ The educational achievements, which benefited greatly from the activities of Maneckji and other representatives of the Anjuman-i Akabir-i Parsiyan (such as Kaikhusrau Khan Sahib or Ardishirji Ripurtir), can be best demonstrated in the following data from 1934–5: out of the 818 Zoroastrians living in Tehran, 211 men (out of 241), 54 women (out of 170), 165 boys (out of 231), and 89 girls (out of 176) were literate.¹⁶⁴

The Jews

Before the AIU began its educational activities in Iran and before modern schools had been established among the Jewish communities there, Jewish children were educated in the Jewish *maktab-khanib* or *khanib-yi mulla*,¹⁶⁵ which was in essence identical to the Jewish *cheder* – a one-room religious school, usually in a synagogue or in the house of the rabbi,¹⁶⁶ where pupils sat on the floor in a semicircle before their teacher (called *mulla*, *kbakham*, or *kbalifa*).¹⁶⁷

The sole purpose of the curriculum was to educate the students in Judaism; thus it consisted of the following: learning the letters of Hebrew – the language of the Torah – in order to be able to read and memorize verses from it and from prayer books; translation of the Torah into Persian or Judeo-Persian (*tafsir*); Jewish law (*dinim*) and prayers (*tefilot*); and history of the biblical period. There were also individual lessons, such as preparing a boy to read from the Torah in front of the congregation as part of his bar mitzvah ceremonies. The curriculum did not include Persian or even Judeo-Persian literature.¹⁶⁸

The Jewish *maktab* was quite similar in its main characteristics, though not in its content, to its Islamic counterpart. Apart from the venue (usually synagogue or mosque, or the house of the Jewish or the Shi'i mulla), and the formation of the class (sitting on the floor in a semicircle before the teacher), the Jewish and Islamic schools also resembled each other in the type of material (mainly religion), methods of teaching (loud repetition by the students of what they heard from their teacher and memorization, with hardly any intellectual discussion, mainly because the Jewish or Muslim mulla was not capable of conducting such discussions), form of punishment (usually physical), and teacher's salary (which depended very much on the financial condition of the student's family).¹⁶⁹

Jewish *maktab-khanibs* existed in every Jewish community, whether big or small. Most of the students were boys, mostly between the ages of 4 and 13, but in certain communities girls also attended. The classes were heterogeneous with respect to the age of the students.¹⁷⁰ Since no yeshivas (Jewish religious seminaries) existed in Iran, there was no venue for a Jewish graduate of a *maktab-khanib* to continue his Jewish studies for a higher degree, the closest yeshivas being in Baghdad.¹⁷¹

The situation began to change after the advent of modern education initiated by foreign concerns, and the first to introduce such education among the Jews were the Christian missions. The most active of these was the CMJ. Most of its missionaries were German Jews converted to Christianity, the first, as mentioned earlier, being Joseph Wolff. The schools established by this mission (as well as by other Christian missions)

were located in towns and cities with large Jewish communities, such as Isfahan, Tehran and Hamadan. They attracted many Jewish families who sent their children to attend them since their curriculum included Persian and English, some secular subjects and even Hebrew; they offered vocational training for girls; the needy were exempted from paying any tuition and were even given meals, clothes and writing tools free of charge, and their parents were provided with material assistance. Furthermore, the possibility of further studies, either in Tehran or abroad, was open to those who excelled in their elementary schooling. Even so, by the end of the nineteenth century fewer than five hundred Jewish students out of a community of fifty thousand were studying in missionary schools.¹⁷²

The situation changed again with the establishment of schools by the AIU. While some Jewish families continued to send their children to missionary schools, mainly because of their straitened financial circumstances or only for secondary studies, most of the Jewish families who sought modern education for their children sent them to the AIU schools. Thus, the Jewish *maktab-khanih* gradually lost its place to the modern schools of the AIU, and the traditional curriculum and methods of teaching were gradually replaced by modern French ones. Little attention was paid to the teaching of religious subjects, and the most weight was given to preparing the student for a useful life in a non-Jewish society. The language of instruction was French, the curriculum reflected that used in schools in France, and since Persian and Hebrew were both limited to the minimum, Jewish youths gained little knowledge of these languages and cultures. This aroused opposition among the more traditional elements in Iranian Jewry.

The situation changed only in 1921, especially with the establishment of Zionist organizations in Iran and the nationalistic policies of Riza Shah. As a result, more emphasis was given to both languages in the AIU schools, although Persian was favoured more than Hebrew. The new circumstances, as well as dissatisfaction with AIU's educational policies, were probably at least partly responsible for the establishment by local Jewish communities of modern schools such as the Kurush Schools in Rasht (1922) and Tehran (1931).¹⁷³

The Baha'is

The unfavourable conditions and the severe restrictions under which the Baha'is existed in Iran, accompanied by the bigotry and influence of the Shi'i clerics, as well as the hatred and suspicion shown towards them by Nasir al-Din Shah,¹⁷⁴ made life for the Baha'is in Iran extremely difficult. Baha'i children were not permitted to attend the *maktab-khanih*s or any other kind of school, and they were constantly harassed, cursed, taunted, persecuted and vexed by non-Baha'is. Thus, the only way for Baha'is to educate their children was by employing private tutors (which was open only to the few who could afford it), or by having educated relatives tutor the children (which was possible only in families that had such educated members); meanwhile the vast majority remained uneducated, and were thus unable to learn or pass on the compulsory Baha'i religious education.¹⁷⁵

In such harsh conditions, some Baha'i individuals or local communities took the initiative into their own hands. For instance, some Baha'i communities hired the services of travelling teachers (i.e., private tutors who moved from one place to another) for an

indefinite period of time to teach their children. Another way to combat illiteracy among Baha'is was by sending young educated Baha'is from Tehran or other major cities to remote places where no schools existed. Classes set up in such a manner were open to all children, whether Baha'i or non-Baha'i.¹⁷⁶

It was this grim situation that led 'Abdu'l-Baha to direct the Baha'is – soon after taking over the leadership and guidance of the Baha'i community after the death of Baha'u'llah in 1892¹⁷⁷ – to endeavour to establish Baha'i schools and Baha'i religious and moral classes (*mahfil-i dars-i akhlaq*).¹⁷⁸ At this time (the end of the nineteenth century) it became more feasible to open semi-official Baha'i schools that were supported by Baha'i communities, since there was a relative decline in the level and intensity of persecution, pogroms and killing of Baha'is. The majority of these schools were gradually recognized by the state.¹⁷⁹

For many of the early Baha'is, their motivation to establish modern schools in Iran was largely faith based: it was due to the centrality of education in their faith and as response to 'Abdu'l-Baha's directive. One of the pioneers in providing education to Baha'i children was Sayyid Hasan Hashimizadieh (1882–1957), also known as 'Mutivajjih'¹⁸⁰ and also as Sayyid Hasan Mu'allim.¹⁸¹ After he showed much interest, talent and energy in studying the Persian alphabet, as well as in spelling and the composition of sentences, his mother and uncle sent him to learn Arabic with Na'im, the famous poet who also at that time taught Baha'i children¹⁸² (probably those from rich families who could afford to pay for his services). Impressed by Hasan's talent, Na'im made the teaching of Hasan conditional on the latter's teaching other Baha'i children from the Darvazih-yi Shahzadieh 'Abd al-'Azim neighbourhood of Tehran.¹⁸³ The circle of Baha'i children who studied with Mutivajjih grew steadily, and in 1897–8 the *mahfil-i dars-i akhlaq*¹⁸⁴ was officially established.

At first, these classes took place on Thursday evenings, each time in a different house, but soon they moved to Friday mornings, with a specific location assigned for them and with other Baha'is assisting Mutivajjih to teach the children.¹⁸⁵ Soon more classes opened, first in different parts of Tehran, and later in other cities, towns and villages as well; textbooks were published, and educational and administrative committees were established.¹⁸⁶ Thus, these classes, in which Baha'i children were given basic general education as well as Baha'i religious training, became the first structure within which Baha'i children received their basic education before the subsequent widespread introduction of Baha'i schools.¹⁸⁷

Such preliminary and premodern Baha'i educational activities also took place in other parts of Iran. For example, a Baha'i couple – Mulla 'Ali Jan and his wife, 'Alaviyyih Khanum, from the village of Mahfuruzak in Mazandaran – decided in the early 1880s to transmit Baha'u'llah's teachings to the local Baha'i children. They opened two schools, one for boys and one for girls. Baha'i schools also opened in the villages of Sisan in Azerbaijan, where most of the residents were Baha'is, and in Dirghuk (near Abadih). Similar schools opened in towns with Baha'i populations, such as Qazvin and Abadih.¹⁸⁸ All these early Baha'i schools had three main characteristics: first, they were basically Baha'i *maktabs*, not modern schools; second, they were all formed as result of sporadic and local personal initiatives; and third, they were not officially recognized. The situation changed after the accession of Muzaffar al-Din Shah

to the Qajar throne (1896), and the appointment of the reform-minded Amin al-Daulih as prime minister (1897).

The religious minorities in Iran came to enjoy modern education and schools long before the Shi'i majority. One reason for this was the fact that their co-religionists outside Iran sought to help their brethren within the country. It is also a fact that although the Christian missions wished mainly to operate and proselytize among the Muslim population, the state did not allow this, and when it did, contact was quite limited and controlled. As a result Assyrians, Armenians, and later Zoroastrians and Jews as well, had a wide range of places open to them in which they could obtain modern education, while the vast Shi'i majority was unable to enjoy the same conditions until the end of the nineteenth century.

A handful of schools, intermittently established by the state over half a century, and starting in 1851 with the Dar al-Funun, were enjoyed by some members of the aristocracy, but even then, by only a few. The state had no interest in educating its masses since it feared the political implications of modern education and ideas on the predominantly Shi'i subjects. By comparison, the religious minorities were too small in number and too isolated to become a threat, but affording them a modern education could only improve the image of the Qajars with the minorities' co-religionists abroad and with the Western countries that protected them. But the growing educational activities of foreign religious and cultural organizations, combined with the modern school systems developed by the various local religious minorities, the state's ineptitude in this field, and the growing need and demand for modern education for the Shi'i population, paved the way for individual Muslim initiatives.

Early Attempts by Muslim Individuals to Establish Public/Private Schools: Low-Profile Activity

After the foundation of the two Dar al-Fununs, the state's record in establishing additional modern schools in Iran remained very poor. Apart from the few schools mentioned above, which were exclusively for the children of the aristocracy (*a'yan va ashrāf*) and high officials, the state maintained a very low profile in this respect.¹⁸⁹ The opposition of the 'ulama' and other traditional elements to modern education, as well as Nasir al-Din Shah's apprehension about the potential for negative repercussions that modern education might have on his Muslim subjects and, as a result, on his rule, seemed to be ample reason to deter any individual Muslim from initiating the establishment of modern schools in Iran.

An exception was Haj Mirza Hasan, known as 'Rushdiyyih' (1850–1943), who established the first modern elementary school ever founded in Iran by a private Muslim individual, in Tabriz in 1887–8. According to his biographer, Fakhr al-Din Rushdiyyih, what prevented Rushdiyyih from pursuing his religious studies in the *hawzib-yi 'ilmiyyih* in Najaf was reading in an article published in *Akhtar* which reported that while only ten out of a thousand people were illiterate in the West, in Iran only ten out of a thousand were literate – the main reason being the difficulty of learning the Persian alphabet.¹⁹⁰

This information had a great impact on him and he set his mind to pursuing modern secular rather than religious studies, and to establishing elementary schools for the masses.¹⁹¹ In 1881 he went to Beirut, where he studied for two years in the French Jesuit-run St Joseph Teachers' Seminary. He then went to Istanbul and later to Cairo to study the educational system of the Rushdiyyih and I'dadiyyih schools, respectively. In 1884 he established the first Persian school for the Muslim population in Yerevan, where he utilized the phonetic alphabet he had devised. Through this linguistic invention, he managed to teach students reading and writing in 60 hours.¹⁹²

The school and the new alphabet proved to be a success. While returning through the Caucasus in 1889 following his third European visit, Nasir al-Din Shah heard about Rushdiyyih and his school. Rushdiyyih arranged a visit for the curious shah and did not miss the opportunity to try to convince the shah to establish similar schools in Iran. However, some of the shah's courtiers and advisers who had accompanied him on his European visit, resented the opening of modern schools in Iran and managed to convince the shah that Rushdiyyih's hidden agenda was to introduce European law into Iran through modern schools. This was sufficient for the shah not only to prevent Rushdiyyih from coming to Tehran, but even to order the Iranian consular agent in Yerevan to impede the work of the Rushdiyyih School there. This prompted Rushdiyyih to leave for Tabriz, his home town.¹⁹³

In 1887–8 he established an elementary school at which he and a number of his educated relatives taught the students reading and writing. This step was very much welcomed by local people, intellectuals and supporters of modern education, but it aroused the bigotry of the *maktab-dars*, who regarded Rushdiyyih's school and its growing popularity as a threat to their own interests. They managed to enlist Ra'is al-Sadat, one of the local 'ulama', to declare Rushdiyyih a heretic (*kafir*) and to issue an edict (*fatwa*) for the destruction of the new school. This having been done, rogue elements attacked the teachers and the students in the mosque, where the school was situated, and Rushdiyyih fled to Mashhad.¹⁹⁴

Six months later, after the death of Ra'is al-Sadat, Rushdiyyih returned to Tabriz and opened another school, this time in the bazaar. But the same tactics were again adopted to attack him and the school, thus causing the school to close and Rushdiyyih to flee once again to Mashhad. A similar scenario occurred for a third, fourth and fifth time, with intervals of a few months in between.¹⁹⁵

Before returning to Tabriz for the sixth time, Rushdiyyih tried to establish a school in Mashhad, but the *maktab-dars* of that city were even more ferocious and resolute about preventing the opening of such a school. They attacked Rushdiyyih, breaking his hand, and also pillaged the school.¹⁹⁶

On his sixth return to Tabriz, Rushdiyyih opened another school named *Rushdiyyih* after him, which this time survived for three years, mainly due to the local people who had witnessed his untiring attempts to introduce modern schools, as well as the progress made by the children who had studied in them. In this school Rushdiyyih used a blackboard, taught Persian, used simplified methods to teach the alphabet, taught hygiene and fixed a name-plaque above the school's entrance.¹⁹⁷ He also opened a class for older people (*akabir*), to whom he managed to teach reading and writing in a relatively short period (90 hours). This action of Rushdiyyih's caused most of the people of Tabriz

to support him and his modern education, thus for the first time leaving the local *maktab-dars* in the minority. But Rushdiyyih did not seek revenge; he wanted to promote modern education, and for that he needed more teachers. He therefore opened another class, this time for the sole purpose of teaching modern educational instructional methods to the traditional *maktab-dars*, but for some time no one dared to register.¹⁹⁸

Believing that there was no other way to stop Rushdiyyih, his opponents tried to assassinate him, but the bullets aimed at him injured but did not manage to kill him. It was, however, enough to deter people from renting him property for a new school. He still did not give up, and after selling a piece of land he owned, and having managed to secure permission from the 'ulama' of Najaf, he repaired the Masjid-i Shaykh al-Islam – a ruined mosque opposite the Tabriz Dar al-Funun, which had been turned into a rubbish dump for the *bazaris* and the populace – and opened his school for the seventh time, this time equipped with desks, benches and a blackboard, and with a long break during the daily school hours. These steps, in addition to his resolve and energy, brought him considerable support, mainly from the backers of reform and modern education. Furthermore, when Muzaffar al-Din Mirza, then the Qajar regent and governor of Azerbaijan, happened one day to be passing, he was amazed to see a school in place of the ruined mosque, and his amazement grew further when he witnessed the high level of study at the school. As a result, he gave his full support to Rushdiyyih and bestowed robes of honour (*kbil'at*) on him.¹⁹⁹

The Dar al-Funun in the city of Tabriz welcomed this development, and even agreed to send three teachers (for Persian, French, and geometry and arithmetic) from its own staff, and to cover all their costs to teach Muslim students at the Rushdiyyih a few days each week. Furthermore, it also helped Rushdiyyih by printing his textbook, *Vatan Dilli* ('Language of the Nation'), in the Dar al-Funun's printing-house.²⁰⁰ It seems that Aqa Mirza Muhammad Nadin Bashi, head of the Dar al-Funun, regarded the establishment of a modern elementary school as a means for supplying more students to the local Dar al-Funun and preparing them better to attend it. In this way it would help to raise the level and standard of study in the polytechnic as well. Mirza Hasan, who himself taught at the Dar al-Funun of Tabriz, divided each of his teaching days between the two schools.

Once again, however, opposition to the Rushdiyyih School brought about its closure.²⁰¹ Rushdiyyih's opponents had managed once more to enlist one of the local 'ulama', who participated in the observation of the school's final exams in order to declare the school illegal. When asked on what grounds he had made his ruling, the 'alim explained that 'youngsters (*nubavigan*) who learn complicated issues [such as the interpretations of the text of prayers] with such a speed and ease, would later obviously turn their back on [their] religion.'²⁰² A group of previously organized vigilantes hastened to execute the fatwa. Rushdiyyih managed to evacuate the students, but the school was destroyed. After nine years of tireless effort, Rushdiyyih finally concluded that he should leave Iran until a more favourable climate for modern schools – established and run by Muslims and for Muslims – prevailed.²⁰³ Thus, this single-handed private pioneering initiative for modern education in Iran came temporarily to an end, although it would resume with full force and energy when a new shah rose to the throne.

OPENING THE DOOR: MUZAFFAR AL-DIN SHAH QAJAR AND THE ADVENT OF BAHAI SCHOOLS IN IRAN

INTRODUCTION: THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM MOVEMENT AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

On 8 June 1896, following the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah, his son Crown Prince Muzaffar al-Din Mirza left Tabriz for Tehran to be crowned as Muzaffar al-Din Shah. He inherited a country marked by social unrest and discontent, and an ailing economy burdened with foreign loans. Unlike his father, Muzaffar al-Din Shah suffered from ill health, and had a weaker character yet a kinder heart. The circumstances in which Iran found itself under his rule were also different from those of his father's time. Foreign involvement and influence were growing considerably, as were social and political discontent, along with demands for reform. The appointment in August 1897 of the reform-minded Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih as the new prime minister was, partly at least, an attempt to meet some of these demands.

Like other reform-minded prime ministers before him, such as Amir Kabir and Mushir al-Daulih, Amin al-Daulih's tenure (1896–8) was also brief, again to a large extent because his rivals conspired to topple him. Being less forceful or powerful than either of his predecessors, he was able to achieve even less. His reformist attempts in law, administration of finance, and education raised such opposition among the 'ulama', courtiers and other influential conservative elements that Muzaffar al-Din Shah was obliged to dismiss him and reappoint Mirza 'Ali-Asghar Khan Amin al-Sultan in his stead.¹ However, notwithstanding Amin al-Daulih's short tenure as prime minister, he managed to achieve some important outcomes in the field of education, especially elementary education.² Although he was not the initiator of the education reform movement, his support of modern elementary schools gave a boost to the reform movement and guaranteed its perpetuation and expansion. Nor was he alone in the promotion of modern education and schools in Iran, since the call for the establishment of such schools was coming from several different directions.

Iranian intellectuals, such as 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf Tabrizi, Mirza Malkum Khan Nazim al-Daulih and others, had been advocating the opening of modern schools in Iran.³

They believed that the old and traditional education system of *maktabs* and madrasas was no longer sufficient to meet the growing needs of the modern world. The opening of a few modern schools, such as the Dar al-Fununs of Tehran and Tabriz,⁴ was a step in the right direction, but not enough to make the necessary changes and meet growing needs.

During the 1890s, new advocates were also beginning to appear from an unexpected direction: the Shi'i clergy. A few enlightened individuals amongst the prominent clergy, such as Shaykh Hadi Najmabadi and Mirza Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i, asked their followers to support modern schools. In mid-1899, Tabataba'i even went on to establish a modern school named *Madrasah-yi Islam* under the directorship of his son, Mirza Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Tabataba'i, who was also a cleric. It was a significant step, and one of the most important taken by Iranian Muslims towards the advent of modern schools. On the occasion of the opening of the school, Muhammad Tabataba'i (the father) invited the prime minister and other influential people, princes and high-ranking 'ulama', and in their presence spoke about the advantages of education and its expansion:⁵

We should endeavour to make the people of our nation become literate, for after all, if the population becomes literate they will know their national rights. Once they become aware of the rights of the state versus the individual and the nation, and those of the nation versus the individual and the state, then they will never tolerate injustice, oppression and tyranny; at such times, matters will be referred to people of capability and knowledge. Therefore it is for you to reform education, to establish and increase the *makatib* and to open [new] schools – elementary, religious, technical and so on.⁶

Amin al-Daulih, Rushdiyyih, and the Anjuman-i Ma'arif

The opening of the *Madrasah-yi Islam* was part of a wider development in the advent of modern schools by Muslims in Iran, at the forefront of which stood two people: Haj Mirza Hasan Rushdiyyih and Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih.

Soon after his appointment as the new prime minister, and after having secured the shah's approval, Amin al-Daulih asked Rushdiyyih to open a modern school in the capital, Tehran.⁷ As recounted in the previous chapter, after a number of failed attempts to introduce modern elementary schools, due mainly to fierce opposition from anti-reform circles, Rushdiyyih had already left Iran for the Caucasus and Egypt. In the Caucasus he met two Iranian Azeri friends, both staunch supporters of modern education, whom he had already befriended when he established and ran his first school in Yerevan. These were Haj Zayn al-'Abidin Taqiyuf and Haj Mirza 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf Tabrizi.⁸

Some time later, when the reform-minded Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih was appointed governor of Azerbaijan, he summoned Rushdiyyih to Tabriz and convinced him to reopen the Rushdiyyih School there. Not only did Amin al-Daulih give Rushdiyyih and his school a magnificent building, but he also gave his full support and protection as well as financial assistance. Rumours were put about by Rushdiyyih's opponents that he was a Babi, and that the sole purpose of his school was to propagate Babism (which they regarded as 'irreligion' or *bi-dimi*); but they were soon silenced by the strength of Amin al-Daulih's support for Rushdiyyih and his school.⁹

When Rushdiyyih received Amin al-Daulih's invitation to open a modern school in the capital, he left Tabriz for Tehran, leaving his older brother to run the school in Tabriz. But without Amin al-Daulih's financial support and with continued anti-Babi propaganda aimed at the school, it finally closed down.¹⁰ However, this proved to have some positive results, for some of the teachers who had taught at the school and had learned the principles of running a modern school from Rushdiyyih then opened new schools in Tabriz, each of which contributed its own share to the spread of modern education in Iran.¹¹

When Rushdiyyih opened his elementary school in Tehran in Ramazan 1315/late January 1898,¹² around 400 students registered in the school. Fifty of these came from poor families, with their tuition, lunch and clothing costs covered by the state, while 250 of the school's student body came from upper- and middle-class families: those from upper-class families paid 3 *tumans* entrance fee and an additional 3 *tumans* every month for tuition, and those from the middle class paid from 2 *tumans* to 15 *qirans*, according to their ability to pay, with the rest of the students being totally exempted. Lunch fees, collected from the upper- and middle-class groups every quarter, covered the expenses of free meals for the rest. An additional fee of 25 *qirans* was collected from those who, after the completion of their studies, wished to open modern schools.¹³

In order to supervise the school's income and expenses and in an attempt to establish additional modern schools, Rushdiyyih formed a committee of influential and important people who either showed interest in or supported the school and modern education, or whose children attended the school. The initial title of this committee was 'The Society of the Trustees of the Rushdiyyih School and for the Establishment of Elementary Schools' (Anjuman-i Umana-yi Madrasah-yi Rushdiyyih va Ta'sis-i Makatib), but soon it became known as 'The Education Society' (Anjuman-i Ma'arif). Its members included some well-known names, several of whom later opened modern schools; these were Ja'far-Quli Khan Hidayat Nayyir al-Mulk (minister of sciences), Mirza Mahmud Khan Muftah al-Mulk (later founder of Madrasah-yi Iftitahiyih), Mirza Mahmud Khan Ihtisham al-Saltanih (later founder of Madrasah-yi 'Ilmiyyih), 'Ali Khan Nazim al-Daulih, Mihdi Khan Mumtahn al-Daulih, Mirza Yahya Daulatabadi (later founder of the Adab and the Sadat schools), Mirza Karim Khan Muntazim al-Daulih Firuzkuhi Sardar-i Mukarram (later founder of Madrasah-yi Khayriyyih), and 'Ali Khan Nazim al-'Ulum (a graduate of the Dar al-Funun-i Paris).¹⁴

The Anjuman-i Ma'arif received the approval and support of Amin al-Daulih, and at its first meeting in March 1898, chaired by Nayyir al-Mulk, Rushdiyyih gave a detailed report on his previous services and future plans for the expansion of modern schools throughout the country. At the next meeting, the society approved a 20-article document detailing its aims and activities, among which were the following: the publication of *Ruznamih-yi Ma'arif* ('The Education Daily'); laying the foundation of the National Library and donating books for it; and establishing the Shirkat-i Tab'i Kutub (Book Printing Company) for the publication of textbooks for the schools.¹⁵

At another meeting it was decided to hold a garden party to raise the funds needed to set up new schools. A number of important people were invited to assist in organizing and participating in the fund-raising party, including Amin al-Daulih; Nayyir al-Mulk; Haj Mirza Hasan Rushdiyyih; Mirza Nasrullah Khan Na'ini Mushir al-Daulih (minister



FIGURE 1. The Ta'iyid Boys' School (Madrasah-i-yi Mubarakih-yi Ta'iyid), Hamadan, 1908. © BWC.

for foreign affairs); Mirza Mahmud Khan Ihtisham al-Saltanih; Muhammad Baqir Khan I'timad al-Saltanih (minister of publications at the translation office); Haji Mihdi-Quli Khan Mukhbir al-Saltanih; Mirza Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i (known as 'Sangalaji'); Mirza Mahmud Khan Muftah al-Mulk; Mirza 'Ali-Akbar Khan Nazim al-Ataba'; Haj Husayn Aqa Isfahani Amin al-Zarb (the famous *tajir* – big merchant – and supporter of reform); Haji Mirza Yahya Daulatabadi; Mirza Sayyid Husayn Khan Nazim al-Hukama; Mirza Karim Khan Muntazim al-Daulih; Mirza Isma'il Khan (commander of the artillery); Sardar Firuz (head of the arsenal); Shaykh Mihdi Kashani (known as 'Muzaffari'; later the founder of Madrasah-yi Muzaffari); and Dr 'Inayatullah.¹⁶

In addition, by orders of Amin al-Daulih, the Anjuman-i Ma'arif prepared a booklet that was passed among the nobility, princes and the *tujjar* of Tehran, and into which they inserted the sum that they were ready to donate. It was first presented to the shah, who pledged 2,000 *tumans*, then to Amin al-Daulih, who pledged 12,000, and on to other ministers, *tujjar* and other people of financial standing.¹⁷ In this way the Anjuman-i Ma'arif managed to secure sufficient funds for the foundation of several public schools in Tehran.¹⁸ Other wealthy and pro-reform Iranians soon began to support this initiative of Rushdiyyih and the Anjuman-i Ma'arif.¹⁹ The Iranian government, which, since the establishment of the Dar al-Funun, had founded only a small number of modern schools, followed suit and also began to back these schemes and later even agreed that it would partially support the new schools financially.²⁰

On 15 Muharram 1316/5 June 1898 Amin al-Daulih resigned. During his brief premiership of less than two years, 17 modern elementary schools were founded – 11 in Tehran and 6 in other major cities, such as Rasht, Mashhad, Tabriz and Bushihr,²¹ and during the period 1897–1907 there were 49 new schools established.²² All these schools were privately owned, financed and managed, and unlike their foreign and minority equivalents, they mainly served the Muslim population.²³

The new atmosphere of support for modern education and schools soon resulted in an increase in the number of newspapers and in their readership as well. Before the arrival of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, the few newspapers published inside Iran were official. Apart from these there were three main Persian newspapers published outside Iran: *Akhtar* (in Istanbul), *Hikmat* ('Wisdom', in Cairo) and *Qanun* ('Law', in London). But after Muzaffar al-Din Shah ascended to the throne, more newspapers became available, including the following: *Tarbiyat* (in Tehran), *al-Hadid* ('The Iron') or *'Idalat* ('Justice', in Tabriz), *Habl al-Matin* (in Calcutta) and *Parvarish* ('Training', in Cairo). It would appear that modernization in general, and modern education in particular, became either synonymous with, or regarded as part of, the patriotism, nationalism, and aspirations for justice, liberalism and anti-absolutism which began to sweep through Iran at the end of the nineteenth century.

All these developments angered some traditional social sectors, especially the 'ulama'. Conservative 'ulama', such as Ayatollah Fazlullah Nuri, were against the modern schools, branding those who initiated and supported their foundation as heretics and Babis whose own wish in opening such schools was to turn the children into Babis.²⁴ In Amin al-Sultan, who was both the precursor and successor of Amin al-Daulih, they found an ally (at least in this respect and at that time). Amin al-Sultan believed that Rushdiyyih was at the centre of agitation against him and his premiership,²⁵ and his hostility towards the

Anjuman-i Ma'arif, along with a certain rivalry among its members,²⁶ curtailed its activities and to some extent took away its momentum. However, this was not enough to halt its activities, for the Society was strongly supported, not only by prominent reform-minded people from the higher echelons of society, including some high-ranking 'ulama', but also by growing numbers from the lower social strata; after all, those new schools were not limited to the aristocracy, but were open to all. In fact it was this wide support that enabled the Anjuman-i Ma'arif to establish not just elementary schools, but also secondary ones.²⁷

As a shrewd politician, Amin al-Sultan understood that it was against his interests to be seen as opposing the Anjuman-i Ma'arif. He therefore decided to bypass it by creating the High Council of Education (Shura-yi 'Aali-yi Ma'arif), which was given superior status, and into which he invited a number of the Anjuman-i Ma'arif's members. In this way he managed gradually to replace the Anjuman-i Ma'arif with the Shura-yi 'Aali-yi Ma'arif.²⁸ But Rushdiyyih and the Anjuman-i Ma'arif had already started something that could not be stopped by curbing him or the society he had founded, for others began to step in and establish modern schools.²⁹

It seems that the creation of the Anjuman-i Ma'arif in 1897, and its support for modern education and schools, was instrumental in preparing the ground for the establishment of an additional number of modern schools, and indeed it was immediately after the setting up of this society that many modern schools were founded, by both Muslim and non-Muslim Iranians as well as by old and new foreign organizations.

Girls' Schools

The modern schools, whether those that had been opened earlier by foreigners or those that were later established by them as well as by the Iranian state and Muslim individuals, generated social excitement and managed to confront traditional with modern ways of thought. At this time, when the very idea of girls being outside their homes was unusual or even unacceptable for the average Iranian, the question of their education was perplexing. However, inspired by the West and by the successful experience of the European schools in Iran, many intellectuals began to support female education, considering it as necessary, and even as a fundamental element for the growth and prosperity of the country.³⁰ Thus, those who disagreed with female education and those who supported it looked at it from different perspectives, and found themselves in this, as in many other fields of reform, in opposing positions.

The conservative elements in Iranian society, who were generally against the modern schools, displayed a far greater resistance to the founding of girls' schools. Thus, the first attempt to open a private girls' school faced fierce opposition. In 1903–4, Tuba Rushdiyyih founded the Parvarish Girls' School in Tehran, only to witness its closure four days later because of strong opposition, with a fatwa being issued because 'it was against the principles of Shi'i Islam.'³¹ Three years later, in 1906–7, Bibi Khanum Vaziruv Astarabadi founded a private school in Tehran named *Madrasah-yi Dukhtaranib-yi Milli-yi Dushizigan* (or the *Dushizigan*, for short). The school faced such fierce resistance that some people even decided to destroy the school building. Given these circumstances, the Ministry of Education advised her to close the school.³²



FIGURE 2. Graduation at the Ta'yid Boys' Intermediate School, Hamadan, n.d.

Back row: Yusif Saddiq 'Ama'i (2nd from left).

Middle row: Pizishkzad (3rd from left); Nusratullah Ittihadiyyih (5th from left); Rafi'ullah Jahid (1st from right, slightly lower than the others).

Front row: from right to left: Ishaq 'Ama'i (superintendent, or *nazim*) (2nd); Musa Adib (3rd), 'Abdullah Ittihadiyyih (known as Monsieur André; the principal) (4th), Dabir-Mu'ayyid Na'imi (5th); and Habib Durr-i Dirakhshan (7th). © BWC.

Until the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution (in December 1905), girls' schools in Tehran were solely foreign schools, and by the end of the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (7 January 1907), there were still only 3 state-run girls' schools, in addition to the 5 American and French and 14 private schools in the capital.³³ In 1908 the *Namus Girls' School* opened and was able to stay open only because it was located in a private house. The public opening of girls' schools became possible only after the counter-coup of 1909 and the defeat of the anti-constitutionalists. In early 1911 the *Madrasih-yi Ta'yidiyyih-yi Dushizigan-i Vatan* became the second girls' school opened by an Iranian in Iran – it was founded by Munirih Ayadi, a Baha'i.³⁴ It was followed in May 1911 by the *Baha'i Girls' School, Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banat*. These were some early indications of the importance attached in the Baha'i faith to women's rights and education, and of the role that the Baha'i community in Iran would play in this field.

MUZAFFAR AL-DIN SHAH AND THE PRESSURES FOR THE OPENING OF MODERN SCHOOLS

Although the educational reform movement had evolved from within the community, and enjoyed the backing of many reform-minded and influential people, the support of Muzaffar al-Din Shah would boost it further and give it more momentum. It appeared to have been Amin al-Daulih who convinced the shah that supporting the reform movement served the shah's own interests, since the only way to divert all the ideas and sentiments regarding modernity, reform and national aspirations away from the dangerous uplands of politics was to engage with them and channel them into education reform.³⁵ Whether because of these arguments, or because of other demands and pressures for modern education (discussed below), or whether because he himself genuinely believed in the need for modern education, Muzaffar al-Din Shah gave his backing to the establishing of modern schools in Iran.³⁶

Indeed, calls for modern education and schools, and ideas about their regulations, structure, programmes and so forth, were discussed in almost all the newspapers and 'night-letters' (*shab-namih*s) of the time, as well as at meetings for the propagation of constitutionalism.³⁷ Education was also part of the more general reformist measures that had been previously taken by members of the Qajar family and bureaucracy – such as 'Abbas Mirza, Qa'im-Maqam II, Amir Kabir and Mushir al-Daulih – and propagated by reformist intellectuals such as Malkum Khan, Talibuf and many others.

As already noted, pressure for reform in education came also from below and not only from above. While the cost of private tutors was higher than the tuition fees of the modern schools, the quality of private tuition was much lower and private teaching less useful for the requirements of the modern age. Such considerations pushed more and more families to send their children to the modern schools. Furthermore, it appears that the growing demand for such schools was turning the founding of modern schools into quite a profitable business.³⁸

As the numbers of schools – elementary, secondary and vocational – rose, a shortage of qualified teachers and educators developed, and this meant that more qualified teaching cadres were needed.³⁹ Concurrently, the growing political and economic involvement and influence of the European powers, in particular Britain and Russia, contributed its own pressure for the development of modern education in Iran. Foreign embassies, missions and consulates, as well as firms and companies operating in the country, were increasingly in need of educated Iranians, and these were few in number.

Thus, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the call for reform in education was coming from various directions. The demand for people who had received a modern education and knew one or more foreign languages was on the rise. Modern education gradually came to be seen as a means towards social and economic upward mobility, and this was sufficient reason for a growing number of families, who were not part of the upper class, to try to assemble everything that was needed to enable their children to attend modern schools. They regarded modern education as an investment in a better life.

The religious minorities in Iran, who had maintained their own traditional schools, had similar feelings about modern education. With the help of the local community as well as their brethren abroad, they began to introduce new subjects in the curriculum of their schools, but they soon found themselves competing vigorously with schools founded



FIGURE 3. English class, Tarbiyat Boys' School, Tehran, 1910. © BWC.

by foreign concerns, such as the various religious and cultural organizations. The exception was the Baha'i community, in that it was not officially recognized, and had suffered persecution, either by the state, the 'ulama'-led mobs or both, since its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century. For the Baha'is the opening of modern schools was not just a question of social mobility or a means to a better income, but it was also one of religious duty.

THE FIRST MODERN BAHAI SCHOOLS IN IRAN AND THEIR REASONS FOR OPENING

The first modern Baha'i school in Iran, named *Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banin*⁴⁰ (the Tarbiyat Boys' School) opened in Tehran in 1899 and was followed by more than 40 other modern Baha'i schools that opened in other towns and villages with large Baha'i communities during the following 35 years.

There appears to be some confusion as to exactly when these first modern Baha'i schools opened, and different sources suggest different dates. For example, Fazil Mazandarani, 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari, 'Ali-Akbar Furutan, Farajullah Bakhshayish, Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi, and 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat all state that the Tarbiyat-i Banin Baha'i School opened in 1899–1900. However, Vahid Rafati claims that it opened two years earlier, in 1897–8, and was only recognized officially by the state in 1899–1900. Avarih, on the other hand, believes the school started even later, claiming that it opened its doors in 1903, the year in which Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi believes it received official recognition.⁴¹

These conflicting versions regarding the opening year of Baha'i schools could well be the result of different people referring to different initial stages of the Tarbiyat School as the 'correct' date marking its opening. Thus, in selecting the year 1897–8, Rafati was probably attributing Tarbiyat's foundation to the time when a small *maktab*, in which Mirza Baba Mu'allim Nayrizi was teaching, was founded. Others, who stated that Tarbiyat was founded in 1899–1900, probably refer to the year in which the *maktab* turned into a proper school under Asif al-Hukama. Those who date the opening of the school even later (1903) might be referring to its moving to a new place in the northern part of the city. It was also then that the school was officially recognized by the state (i.e., the Ministry of Education).⁴²

Similar confusion also exists in connection with other Baha'i schools. For example, while Rafati claims – based on Ishraq-Khavari – that the two Baha'i schools in Hamadan (Ta'yid for boys and Mauhibat for girls) opened in 1909, according to the testimony of one of the students of the school, Vathiqli states that 1917–18 is the correct year.⁴³ Here, again, the difference could be the result of focussing on different phases of the school (before or after official recognition or at different locations), although one cannot rule out memory lapses either.

Soon after the establishment of Tarbiyat-i Banin, other Baha'i schools began to open in cities, towns and villages where Baha'is resided in greater numbers (see Table 1). Once they had been officially recognized, every Baha'i school adopted the curriculum set by the Ministry of Education, and after the approval of the Fundamental Law of Education (*Qanun-i Asasi-yi Farhang*, 1 November 1911),⁴⁴ which also specified the programme for

the modern schools in Iran, this too was willingly adopted by all the Baha'i schools.⁴⁵ However, in addition to the curriculum set by the Ministry of Education, these schools introduced other subjects (see Chapter Three and Table 1), which gave their students much extra knowledge and useful skills.

This Baha'i educational activity, which had a major impact on the Iranian Baha'i community as well as on the progress of modern education in Iran, coincided with similar activity by other local and foreign non-Muslim elements. However, it was one thing to allow other religious minorities (Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians), various Christian missionaries (mainly American, French and British), and secular French cultural organizations (such as the AF and AIU), to open schools in Shi'i Iran, but a totally different thing to allow the Baha'is to do so as well. After all, Christians and Jews were regarded as 'people of the book' (*ahl al-kitab*) and therefore protected (*ahl al-dhima*), as were the Zoroastrians. Baha'is, on the other hand, were considered *murtadd*, with no protection, whose blood could be shed (*mabdur al-damm*), who were without rights (*maslub al-buquq*), and whose property was *mubab* (belonging to no one, and thus to all) and which could therefore be plundered (*manhub al-mal*).⁴⁶ The question arises: why did Muzaffar-al-Din Shah and his government make such an apparently generous gesture towards the hated Baha'is, even though it would surely alienate the 'ulama' and the conservative elements in Iranian society? After all, the Shi'i 'ulama' in Qajar Iran enjoyed great power, status and prestige.

In his memoirs, Haj Sayyah Mahallati⁴⁷ described the position enjoyed by the Shi'i clerics in Iran and their attitude towards the Babis/Baha'is, and the way this was used by the shah and his governors:

These 'ulama' possess the sword of *takfir* [accusation of heresy] and the arrow of *na'layn* [kicking; damning] and if they so desire they can destroy the property, life and respect of anyone whom they dislike. The power of [declaring someone or something to be] *hallal* [lawful] and *baram* [unlawful] and *bibisht* [paradise] and *jahannam* [hell] and *paki* [purity] and *na-paki* [impurity] and *marjusi* [abomination] and *mal'uni* [cursing] all hang from their mouths and their pens. They consider themselves the owners of the world and its future, and the shah, *vazir*, *amir* and governor the executors of their wishes . . . anyone whom they accuse of being a Babi will be subjected to a thousand [acts of] treason and even murder. Many mullas whose expectations were not realized by certain persons, have had no fear about destroying them by accusing them of being Babis . . . If the shah wished to destroy any person or family he would place this name [i.e., 'Babi']⁴⁸ on their heads. By this means the provincial governors made money, killed people, and extirpated families. A [simple] accusation was sufficient – there was no investigation or interrogation, no witness or motive was used . . .⁴⁹

It should be clearly noted that, up to the present, no written permission, either in the form of an imperial edict or a government decision, allowing the Baha'i community to open schools as a collective, is known to exist. Moreover, it is perfectly possible that such permission was never given to the Baha'i community collectively, but was given only to individuals who were Baha'is, without this fact being mentioned in the official



FIGURE 4. Students and staff of the Vahdat-i Bashari Boys' School, Kashan, c. 1909. © BWC.

documentation. Indeed, in the records of the Iranian Ministry of Education and the archives of at least some of the Baha'i schools from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, there are documents attesting to the official permission that was granted to a number of individual Baha'is to open schools throughout Iran, without identifying them as Baha'is.⁵⁰

This, however, does not mean that the shah, the ministers, or government officials were not aware of the religious identity and inclination of those individuals, the schools they founded or their staff. After all, the founders, managers and teachers of those schools were almost exclusively Baha'is, whose religious identity could not be concealed from the many non-Baha'i students who studied in those schools, or from their families, or from the eyes of the Ministry of Education inspectors. It was one thing when the Baha'is ran traditional schools and held classes in which only Baha'i children studied, but a completely different thing when they opened modern schools, in which most of the pupils were from Shi'i Muslim families as well as other religious minorities (mostly Jews and Zoroastrians). Furthermore, the Baha'i faith does not permit Baha'is to practise dissimulation (*taqiyya*), and their own as well as their schools' identities must have been known to many, if not to all. Thus, the question still remains: why did the state allow the opening of schools by Baha'is? Several possibilities arise out of the primary and secondary source material, which concern the period, the monarch, and the ideas.

The first, and perhaps the most likely, reason may have been connected with the process of reform, and particularly educational reform, as well as with Muzaffar al-Din Shah's own support for reform. The shah knew French and was acquainted with Western ideas and the subjects taught in Western schools; he was also aware of the scientific and technological advances in the West, some of which he wanted to introduce or extend in Iran.⁵¹ For some time, and especially after Nasir al-Din Shah's first visit to Europe (1873), Iran had been taking larger steps towards Europeanization. Compared to earlier years, the changes seen in Iran in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were quite visible. V. Ignatiev (1853–1902), a Russian Foreign Ministry official who served in Iran (1879–83) and knew it well, wrote in 1883 that 'Tehran looks more and more like a European city', where one could get everything from the 'European shops' there, and find hotels, cabs and even an orchestra playing European music every day before sunset.⁵² The adoption of European institutions was certainly also part of this process of Europeanization or westernization and modernization.

Faced with the growing need and demand for modern education on the one hand, and for more qualified cadres able to introduce and implement the reforms on the other, Muzaffar al-Din may well have decided to allow the opening of Baha'i schools as an additional means of meeting those needs and demands. After all, similar permits had already been granted to the other religious minorities (Christians, Zoroastrians and Jews) and even to some foreign non-Muslim religious and cultural bodies. Furthermore, by the time the Tarbiyat Boys' School was officially recognized, it had already been operating for at least two or three years – ample time to assess its standard of education, and probably to justify the opening of other Baha'i schools on the assumption that they would follow Tarbiyat's example. Its manager, 'Azizullah Misbah, was widely known, especially as an expert on Persian, Arabic and French literature⁵³ – ample reason in itself for granting official recognition to the school.

Other developments in education were favourable to the expansion of modern schools in Iran, and the Baha'i schools, as well as other modern schools, fitted well into such developments. For example, after 1906, the Ministry of Education took responsibility for the establishment of modern elementary schools throughout the country. It also began supervising the traditional schools (the *maktab-khanib*s and the *madaris-i 'ilmiyyib*), encouraging them to reform their curriculum in line with modern education. Thus, the state was gradually beginning to take control over education, giving clear preference to modern over traditional education – a process that reached its climax two decades later under the first Pahlavi monarch.

Second, might it have been possible that, given Iran's grave financial state and the high costs of running the court, Muzaffar al-Din Shah was tempted to sanction the opening of the Tarbiyat Baha'i School if the community offered him some kind of financial or other compensation?⁵⁴ After all, the payment of money or giving of 'presents' in exchange for services or getting something done was quite a widespread phenomenon in Qajar Iran. It started at the top, with Qajar shahs receiving money or gifts from wealthy persons (who sought, for example, the governorship of a certain locality), as well as from foreigners (such as concession holders or companies that operated in Iran), and was widely used, from the aristocracy down to the lowest classes.⁵⁵

Could this practice, variations of which were widely and popularly known as *madakbil* (income), *pisbkish* (present) or *rushwib* (bribe), have been used by the Baha'is with Muzaffar al-Din Shah in order to receive royal sanction for opening Baha'i schools in Iran? It seems unlikely: 'Abdu'l-Baha, who (although still a prisoner in exile in Palestine) was the head of the worldwide Baha'i community from 1892 until his death in 1921, was known to oppose bribery and considered it part of the endemic corruption of the society that was so greatly in need of reform; the practice was so pervasive that, as he noted, this method was probably the only way individuals could secure their wishes in Qajar Iran.⁵⁶ There was already a lucrative practice of extorting the Baha'is (and some who were not) and holding them for ransom; the Russian diplomat V. Ignatiev commented that 'Persian rulers have managed to turn even this sect into a credit item for themselves: whenever they need money they immediately accuse any well-to-do man of Babism [i.e., of being a Baha'i], so he has to pay'; otherwise a capital punishment awaited him.⁵⁷ Certainly 'Abdu'l-Baha was fully aware of Muzaffar al-Din's weakness and believed it to be the reason for the relative relaxation in Baha'i persecution by the state.⁵⁸ However, Muzaffar al-Din's weakness did not mean that there were no anti-Baha'i persecutions or pogroms, because such acts did take place quite frequently;⁵⁹ it simply meant that the state was much less active now in persecuting Baha'is compared to the period of Nasir al-Din Shah, while the people and the clerics were still very much involved in doing so during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah,⁶⁰ as they had been before him.⁶¹ It could well be that the weakness of Iran's central government encouraged the Baha'is to be more daring and open their first Baha'i school in Tehran, especially as other religious minorities were opening new schools at the time, such as the new and modern Jewish schools of the AIU (from 1898 onwards). According to Buzurg-Omid, 'during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah everybody did whatever they pleased.'⁶²

Given the shah's weakness, which had turned him into an easily influenced person,⁶³ 'Abdu'l-Baha and leading Baha'is might rather have used their connections in Western

countries as well as in Iranian government circles to influence Muzaffar al-Din Shah to allow the Baha'is to open schools. After all, 'Abdu'l-Baha enjoyed good relations with the British, who had great influence in Iran in general, and in the royal court and among the Shi'i clerics and merchants in particular; certainly many Babis-Baha'is seem to have obtained British protection.⁶⁴

Third, quite a large number of government officials, clerics,⁶⁵ merchants, intellectuals and other influential persons had either converted to the Baha'i faith or were sympathetic to it and its advanced, modern and reformist teachings. As such, they were probably interested in, or supportive of, such permission being granted to the Baha'is.⁶⁶ For example, the reformist ideas of Malkum Khan and the Babi-Baha'i faith were so close that in Malkum's later years he came to be spoken of approvingly in Babi circles in Istanbul, and received a letter from a Babi leader congratulating him on the publication of his newspaper, *Qanun*.⁶⁷

Although the number of these Baha'i converts (or of the Baha'is in general) among the Iranian elite is not known,⁶⁸ it was certainly not small, and some of the names appear in the eight-volume *Kitab-i Zubur al-Haqq* by Fazil Mazandarani.⁶⁹ These include such famous and influential persons as Muhammad-Riza Mu'tamin al-Saltanih,⁷⁰ Ibtihaj al-Mulk,⁷¹ Mirza Sayyid 'Abdullah Tafrihi Intizam al-Saltanih,⁷² Mu'ayyir al-Mamalik,⁷³ Prince Muhammad-Husayn Mirza Mu'ayyid al-Saltanih (formerly Mu'ayyid al-Daulih),⁷⁴ Mirza 'Ali-Akbar Khan Rauhani Milani (Muhibb al-Sultan),⁷⁵ Haji Abu al-Hasan Mirza Shaykh al-Ra'is Qajar,⁷⁶ Haji Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Mirza Shirazi (Afnan) Wakil al-Daulih,⁷⁷ Mirza 'Ali-Quli Khan (Nabil al-Daulih),⁷⁸ Sayyid Nasrullah Baqirov,⁷⁹ and many others. By the late 1880s and early 1890s, Baha'is held high posts in the Qajar state, including positions in the governorate of Bushihr (Iran's southern seaport) and the mayoralty of Tabas (an important city in the province of Yazd), as well as provincial positions in Tabriz (seat of the Qajar Prince Regents, and up to 1896, of Muzaffar al-Din Mirza, as well as the most important city of north-western Iran), and in Shiraz (capital of Fars and a very important commercial city). In general, almost all social groups in Iranian society during the Qajar period, from the highest to the lowest, were represented in the Baha'i community.⁸⁰ Ignatiev observed in 1883 that 'the sect of the Babis [i.e., Baha'is] does not stop existing', adding that 'there are many of them . . . in Qazvin as well as in other cities in spite of their persecutions.'⁸¹ A decade later, and with much deeper and more extensive knowledge of the Baha'is and the Baha'i faith, Ignatiev, now an official of the Transcaspian administration based in Ashgabat, observed that the Baha'is 'do not know how strong they are . . . [or] how many they are'; but from Ignatiev's following observation it seems that he (and probably certain non-Baha'i Iranian politicians) was quite aware of the strength of the Baha'is in Iran:

It is possible to consider that in case of very likely disturbances in connection with the throne [i.e., rivalry over succession to the throne] in Persia, which would follow after the death of [the] ruling [Nasir al-Din] Shah, one of the pretenders might resort to cooperating with the Babis [i.e., Baha'is], as a preliminary, declaring himself to be their protector. Such a step could be especially expected from Zill al-Sultan whose funds have now fallen significantly. [But] he would decide to do it only in case of [extreme] urgency, meaning [when]

all the population would support his rival. In such a case Babis [Baha'is] will, of course, not help him.⁸²

Ignatiev was not the only Russian who was aware of the strength of the Baha'is in Iran. Baron V. R. Rozen, then Professor of Arabic at the Faculty of Oriental Languages at Petersburg University, who had taught many Russian officials (some of whom were later posted to Iran and the region), had a similar view of the Baha'is. He had a very good connection with E. G. Browne and, like Browne, had studied the Baha'i faith and history. Furthermore, as a Russian aristocrat and an academic, he enjoyed good contacts and had well-informed intelligence sources. He seemed to believe that the Baha'is in Iran should be used by Russian diplomats in order 'to frighten the Shah . . . and to press him to fulfil our [i.e., Russian] demands under the threat of our further protection to the Babis [i.e., Baha'is].'⁸³ Thus, it seems that at least some Russians, whether officials posted in or around Iran, or influential academics and aristocrats, believed that the Baha'is were strong enough to be used either in the domestic political rivalry in Iran or as a means of applying pressure to the Iranian government in order to extract further concessions from them.

In 1895, Captain Alexander Tumanski (d. 1920), another Russian official from Ashgabat who, like Ignatiev, was also charged with collecting information on the Baha'is, reported, after an extensive tour of Iran,⁸⁴ that he had encountered many Baha'is in different localities, such as Rasht, Qazvin, Tehran, Hamadan, Isfahan, Shiraz, Nayriz, Yazd, Kashan, Malayer, Najafabad, Sidih, Abadih, Zarqan, Sarvistan, Kirman, Sirjan and Rafsanjan,⁸⁵ with the majority located in the provinces of Isfahan, Fars, Mazandaran and Khurasan.⁸⁶ Although sceptical about the higher estimates of the number of Baha'is in Iran,⁸⁷ he was very much impressed with the number of the Baha'is in Tehran,⁸⁸ among whom he not only found 'many merchants and officials of the low rank', but also 'top-level state officials' and 'very high-ranked and influential people', many of whom, in spite of 'hiding their membership in the mentioned sect, still . . . treat [these] sectarians [i.e., Baha'is] with favour . . .'⁸⁹

Tumanski observed that 'Babism [i.e., the Baha'i faith] serves as a flag round which all the elements unsatisfied with the existing [Qajar] regime, are grouping', and among whom he even found 'very influential Khans and leaders of the nomadic tribes.' Two out of three Baha'i-converted tribal leaders whom Tumanski knew personally were from the Bakhtiyari, the third being an Arab shaykh of the Banu Shayban from Fars.⁹⁰ But these were only those that Tumanski knew personally. In a secret report to General Alexei Nicolaevich Kuropatkin (1848–1921), the commander of the Transcaspiian region (1890–8), he wrote that the fact that 'many Khans and Sheikhs of the nomadic tribes do belong to this sect [i.e., Baha'is] gives it special importance;' and was able to name 'several sons of the late *Ilkhani* of the Bakhtiyari tribe, Husayn-Quli Khan and of the former *kalantar* (head) of the Arab-Turkish tribes of Fars.'⁹¹ Baha'is were found also among the Shi'i clerics – whom Tumanski described as 'the most hostile element regarding the Baha'is', and the instigators behind 'the majority of all [the anti-Baha'i] persecutions in Iran.' Furthermore, Tumanski found Baha'is even among the *mujtabids*, where 'it is possible to name several influential people who are strongly attracted by the new teaching [of Baha'u'llah and the Baha'i faith].'⁹²



FIGURE 5. A group of students from Tehran Tarbiyat Elementary Boys' School, attending their *dars-i akhlaq* (morals, good behaviour and character-building) class, together with some members of the school's teaching and administrative staff. The four men sitting on chairs are (clockwise, from top right): Nasrullah Mauvvaddat, Hidayatullah Mauvvaddat (school's accountant), Muhammad Dastani, and Mirza Mihdi Khan Rahbar Kasravi (school's *nazim*).

1st student standing on the left in the back row: Ruhullah Mauvvaddat.

Source: BWCA; 'Abbas Thabit, *Tarikhchih-yi Madrasih-yi Tarbiyat-i Banin*, 65. © BWC.

In 1897, and probably relying on previously known figures and studies, Yevgenii Karlovich Butzow, the Russian minister in Tehran (1890–8), wrote the following about the Baha'is in Iran:

[T]hey do not openly confess their doctrine for fear of persecution on the part of the Shiite clergy, which use every opportunity to excite the people against them. The teaching of the Babides [Baha'is] is very widespread in Persia, and there is reason to believe that the number of its adherents must exceed a million; included in their ranks, secretly of course, according to people who maintain relations with these sectaries, are even the highest representatives of the Shiite clergy.⁹³

One of the most important non-Baha'i Iranian figures sympathetic to the Baha'i cause was Mirza 'Ali-Asghar Khan Amin al-Sultan, the Atabak-i A'zam, who held the post of prime minister for many years, alternately during the reigns of Nasir al-Din Shah, Muzaffar al-Din Shah and Muhammad-'Ali Shah.⁹⁴ His greatest service to the Baha'i community in Iran was preventing the *farrasbes* (here meaning 'policemen') from killing Mirza Riza Kirmani, who assassinated Nasir al-Din Shah, and then sending telegrams to foreign embassies, consulates and other places in and around Tehran, informing them that the assassin was not a Baha'i but was a 'republican and atheist' and a follower of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani.⁹⁵ This act on the part of Amin al-Sultan prevented the killing of many innocent Baha'is who had been arrested immediately after the assassination. In a tablet written after this incident, 'Abdu'l-Baha wrote to Amin al-Sultan: 'You took steps to help the prisoners; you freely rendered them a befitting service; this service will not be forgotten. Rest assured that it will bring you honour and call down a blessing upon all your affairs.'⁹⁶

This was not, in fact, the only case where attempts had been made by certain high state officials to protect Baha'is. There were others, such as the case in 1903 in Rafsanjan. With news of anti-Baha'i pogroms in Isfahan and Yazd reaching Kirman, Prince Zafar al-Saltanih, the governor of that province, telegraphed the governor of Rafsanjan, 'Ali-Naqi Khan Raf'at al-Saltanih, to inform him of these incidents and to ask whether he was able to protect the large community of Baha'is in Rafsanjan, offering to send a special officer for that purpose if 'Ali-Naqi was unable to do so.⁹⁷

Louis Alphonse Daniel Nicolas, the French orientalist who was appointed French consul at Tabriz on 7 June 1907, stated that he had been called on by Muhammad-Vali Khan Nasr al-Saltanih,⁹⁸ the governor of Tabriz, on 14 September 1912: 'The conversation revolved entirely around the Bab, with whose doctrines my guest seemed to agree.'⁹⁹

For some high-ranking Iranian officials, the positive *volte-face* towards the Baha'is seems to have happened even earlier. One of these was the Iranian reformist prime minister, Mirza Husayn Khan Qazvini Mushir al-Daulih. As ambassador to Istanbul (1858–70), he had shown great enmity towards the Baha'is. However, this attitude seems to have changed after he returned to Iran and was appointed to a number of ministerial posts, the highest of which was the premiership. It could be that in Iran, where the largest Baha'i community still existed, he was much more intensely exposed to Baha'is and the reformist ideas of their faith. Furthermore, the fact that one of his close relatives, Mirza Muhammad-'Ali Kadkhuda, became a Baha'i may well have moderated his

view of the Baha'i faith to such an extent that by the mid-1870s he was reportedly praising it.¹⁰⁰ This change of attitude by Mirza Husayn Khan was also noticed by Baha'u'llah, who was ready to forgive this high-ranking official for his earlier atrocities toward the Baha'is.¹⁰¹

Leading Baha'i figures enjoyed good and close relations not only with certain Iranian officials, but also with foreign governments, as a direct result of the global expansion of the Baha'i faith, especially in the Western world. According to data published by Shoghi Effendi in the 100th year since the beginning of the Babi-Baha'i faith, under the Ministry of 'Abdu'l-Baha new Baha'i communities also emerged in a number of Western countries, some of which – such as Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and the United States of America – maintained close ties with Iran.¹⁰² Still, as far as the Baha'i community in Iran was concerned, their relations with Great Britain and Russia were of utmost importance, for these were the prime foreign players in Iran, and enjoyed much influence in the Qajar court.

When the Bab appeared on the Iranian scene, Britain was one of the three countries that maintained diplomatic missions in Iran (the other two being the Ottoman Empire and Russia). Through the network of its diplomatic and consular corps, and later the staff and employees of the British government and private companies operating in Iran (such as the Indo-European Telegraph Department of the India Office, from the early 1860s, or the privately owned Imperial Bank of Persia, from the late 1880s), the British were able to monitor developments and influential people in Iran. Thus, the appearance of the Bab and the emergence of the Babi movement caught their attention, and they followed developments in the Babi and Baha'i religions and communities in Iran and elsewhere in the region, with much interest.¹⁰³ In the late 1860s, Baha'u'llah had written to Queen Victoria announcing his mission, as he did to all the major leaders of the time. In his letter he commended her for abolishing the slave trade and for encouraging democracy to flourish. Unlike most of those who received a letter, Queen Victoria sent a courteous reply. In April 1890 Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge University visited Baha'u'llah in Palestine and left a stirring description of him and of his words.¹⁰⁴ In addition, British representatives throughout Iran were often approached by locally persecuted Baha'is, who pleaded for protection and wished to use the extraterritoriality of British consulates, telegraph stations, etc., as places of sanctuary (*bast*).

From the start, Russia had already shown interest in the Babi and Baha'i religions, and more so after the mid-1880s, with the immigration of Iranian Baha'is to the newly conquered Russian territories of Transcaspia, and the presence there of a growing Baha'i community, especially in Ashgabat, near the border with Iran. The Russian Transcaspian authorities looked favourably upon this Baha'i immigration; the Bahai's themselves found in those new Russian territories a safe haven, just to the north of Iran, that was relatively secure from Islamic persecution. The majority of the Baha'i émigrés from Iran were merchants and builders, who not only helped to boost the local economy and develop the urban centres, but also introduced a generally settled element into a historically unsettled area populated by nomad Turkmen. Furthermore, in a period when patronage of religious minorities formed one channel for European involvement and influence in territories under Islamic rule, the Baha'is, spread as they were through Iran, the Middle East and Transcaspia, formed – at least potentially, according to one school of thought in

Russia – a means through which Russia could better promote and serve its policies in Iran and the region, especially during the ‘Great Game’ (or as it is also known, ‘the Victorian Cold War’).

Moreover, some influential Baha’is were in direct contact with the Russians. One of these, Haji Sayyid Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Shirazi (later, Afnan) Vakil al-Daulih-yi Rus (generally known as ‘Vakil al-Daulih’) (1830/1–1909), was a cousin of the Bab, a leading Baha’i merchant in Yazd and the Russian consular agent in that town. He later (1909) went to Ashgabat to supervise the construction of the first Baha’i House of Worship (*Mashriq al-Azkar*) in the world.¹⁰⁵ Ashgabat was also the place where the Baha’is built two of their first modern schools (in 1894 for boys and in 1897 for girls).¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, when news from the Ashgabat police began reaching General Kuropatkin about the arrival in Ashgabat of armed Shi’i fanatics to plot against Baha’is, Kuropatkin immediately ‘ordered the establishment of vigilant surveillance of all Muslims who enter the [Ashgabat] district and the protection of the Babists [Baha’is].’¹⁰⁷ In the pre-Constitutional period, many in Iran seem also to have regarded the Russians as pro-Baha’i,¹⁰⁸ an image that may have resulted from initial Russian activity on behalf of Baha’u’llah (as early as 1852–3),¹⁰⁹ from Russia’s provision of a safe haven for Iranian Baha’is in the Caucasus and Transcaspia/Turkistan,¹¹⁰ or from its offer of sanctuary to Baha’is fleeing for their lives from the threat of mob violence.¹¹¹ At any rate, it seems that a positive attitude towards Baha’is indeed existed in Russian circles, the main reason for this attitude being the view that the Baha’i faith represented a kind of reformist movement in Islam, which, as result of contacts with Christianity and European culture, had supposedly adopted some of their ideas.¹¹² Thus it was, in general, viewed as ‘rather favourable to Christianity’,¹¹³ and therefore some regarded it as a possible means for propagating Russian Orthodoxy in Iran and other Islamic countries, in similar fashion to the American Presbyterian Church.¹¹⁴

Thus, as the nineteenth century was coming to an end, Russian influence in Iran was rising and the Baha’i community in Ashgabat was booming. It could be that ‘Abdu’l-Baha thought that the time was advantageous for the Baha’is in Iran to continue the momentum that had just began in Ashgabat. After all, the Russian Transcaspian authorities were quite positive and liberal towards the local Baha’is, many of whom still maintained some kind of connection with Iran. As a person who had many followers in Iran, with some of them in the highest places, he was probably aware not only of the growing Russian influence in Iran, but also of the existence of such a school of thought in Russia, which held that the Baha’is could be used to pressure the Iranian government. After all, one member of that school, Baron Rozen, had maintained close and frequent contact with some of his former students, such as Tumanski and Ignatiev, who were collecting data and information on the Baha’is. In this occupation the two Russians maintained contact with many Baha’is, who would presumably have reported their dealings with these and other Russian officials to their leader, ‘Abdu’l-Baha. As far as Muzaffar al-Din Shah was concerned, it could be that having analysed the situation – namely the increase in Russian influence in Iran and the Russians’ positive attitude towards the Baha’is (as reflected in their treatment of the Baha’is of Ashgabat) – he might then have concluded that there was no point in creating a rift with the Russians over the Baha’is. He might have thought that giving the Baha’is such a concession as opening

schools would not only help to meet a growing demand for modern schools in his country, but could also pull the rug from under the feet of those in Russia who might have played with the idea of using the Baha'is as a means of pressuring the Iranian government.

According to Shapour Rassekh, Iranian and Ottoman government officials respected 'Abdu'l-Baha and consulted him on important matters.¹¹⁵ Given the advanced reformist thought of the Baha'i faith, it is very likely that at least some of these consultations touched upon the reform movement in both countries.¹¹⁶ Additionally, 'Abdu'l-Baha, in a number of tablets, encouraged Baha'is to be constantly in touch with 'important people' in Iran,¹¹⁷ and seems himself to have written even to the supreme *mujtabid* of the Shi'a world, Ayatullah Mirza Hasan Shirazi, who was residing in Samarra in Iraq.¹¹⁸

Apart from good contacts and relations inside and outside Iran, one of the strong points of the Baha'is was their organization, which enabled Baha'u'llah and later 'Abdu'l-Baha to 'guide their flock' from Acre. 'Abdu'l-Baha's contacts with the various Baha'i communities in Iran were maintained through what Tumanski described as 'his secret agents', who used three main routes for communications, two in the north and one in the south: Baku-Enzeli, Ashgabat-Mashhad, and Bombay – ports of the Persian Gulf. Generally speaking, the main regional points and junctions out of Iran for running this system of communication were Alexandria, Istanbul, Bombay, Baku and Ashgabat.¹¹⁹ It was this system, with its regional spread, organization, and contacts, which enabled Baha'is outside Iran to have their fingers on the pulse of their persecuted community within Iran, and to do whatever they could in order to help them, either directly by themselves or through enlisting the goodwill of foreign governments and their supporters in Iran and the region.

Indeed, some attempts to influence Muzaffar al-Din Shah were made by non-Iranian Baha'is, and his European trips were a good opportunity to approach him. For example, while they were in Paris in September 1902, the shah and Amin al-Sultan were approached by the American Mrs Lua Moore Getsinger who was the main female Baha'i exponent (*umm al-muballighat*) in the West. At the Elysée Palace Hotel she presented them, in the name of the Baha'is of Paris, with a petition in which she described to the shah and his prime minister the poor condition of the Baha'is in Iran. She requested them to protect the Baha'is in Iran and also to deliver a letter addressed to her Iranian brothers and sisters in faith.¹²⁰ In her petition Getsinger, who was merely a messenger of 'Abdu'l-Baha, wrote:

So at the present time as long as the Mullas have the power to stretch out the hands of oppression toward your people, it deprives you of the opportunity to emancipate them, and give them freedom of thought that they may manifest to you their greatest loyalty and devotion, because it soon becomes impossible for any people to live in harmony and loyalty except they are commanded by their religion to bear allegiance to the head of their government; thus in this instance the protection of the people who are followers of Baha'u'llah becomes the protection of your government as well, inasmuch as every Baha'i will die sooner than disobey one of His holy commands.¹²¹

It seems that 'Abdu'l-Baha, through his messenger, was trying to convince the shah that

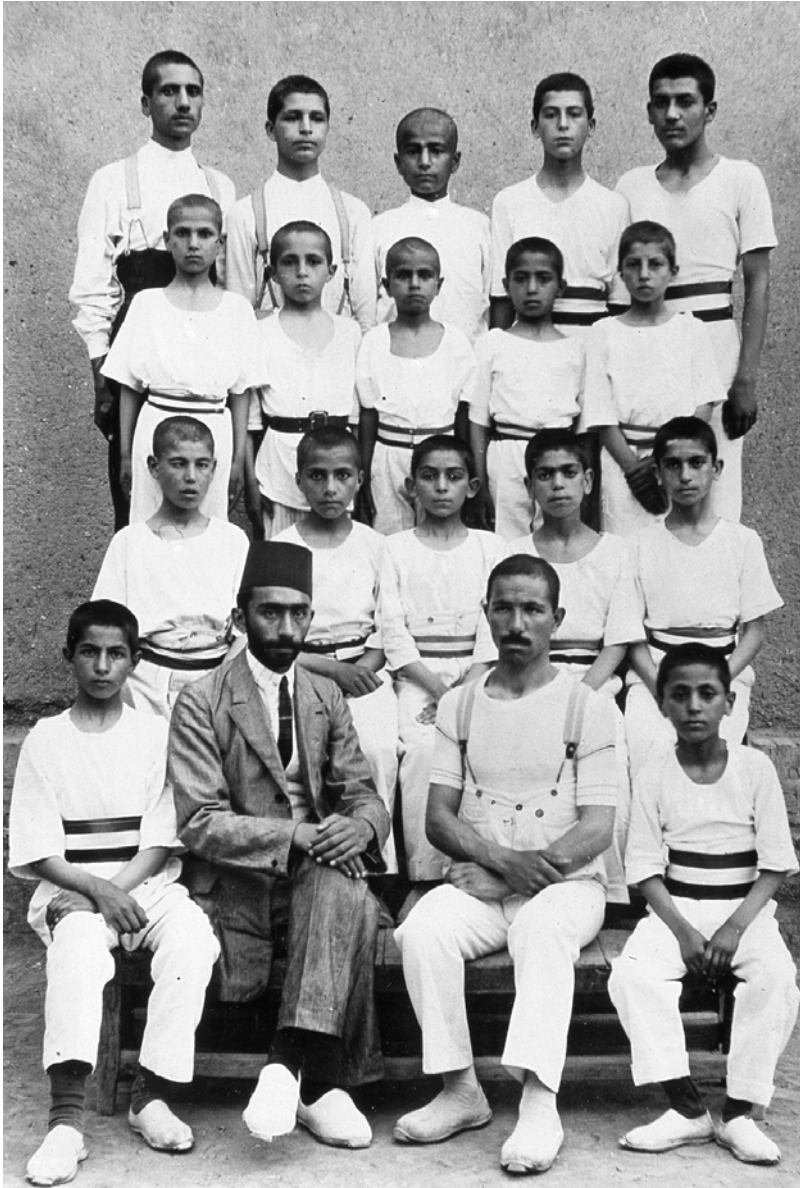


FIGURE 6. Students of the Tarbiyat Boys' School in Tehran during sports examinations. Front row (sitting; from left): Mirza Mihdi Khan Rahbar Kasravi (school's *nazim*) (2nd), Isma'il Bazargan (sports teacher) (3rd), 'Abd al-Husayn Muqtadar (4th). 2nd row (from left): ? Tayfuri (1st), Hishmatullah 'Ala'i (3rd), Shahab 'Ala'i (4th), Hissam 'Ala'i (5th). 3rd row (from left): Ruhullah Mithaqiyan, Suhrab Dustdar, Amir Arjumand, Ruhullah Assasi. 4th row (from left): Murtiza Danish, ? Danish, Sayfullah Qashqa'i, 'Azizullah Samandari, Abu al-Qasim Fayzi.

Source: BWCA; Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 133. © BWC.

the 'ulama's' persecution and ill-treatment of the Baha'is (who were compelled by their religious belief to be loyal to the shah and his government), not only posed a danger to the Baha'i community in Iran, but also endangered the shah's own rule.

Amin al-Sultan promised Mrs Getsinger that everything would be done to grant her petition, and added, 'Be at ease and know that His Majesty loves and protects all of his subjects.' Upon her insistence on also hearing this promise from the shah's own mouth, she was led into the hotel's reception hall, where some 150 Iranians were awaiting the shah. There the shah promised her that 'all should be done that had been requested, and that was within his power', and bade Mrs Getsinger be at ease.¹²²

Adopting a more lenient policy towards the opening of more Baha'i schools may have been one way of meeting that promise, while simultaneously winning some points in the West and responding to an urgent domestic need and growing demand for modern schools. Muzaffar al-Din Shah might therefore have been aiming at three birds with one stone. The fact that a number of Baha'i sources state that the Tarbiyat School was officially recognized in 1903, i.e., after the presentation of Mrs Getsinger's petition,¹²³ may indicate that the shah was fulfilling his promise, and hitting at least two of the three birds.

A year after the first petition, when fresh persecutions of Baha'is broke out in Yazd, Isfahan and other places, Mrs Getsinger sent another petition (in the name of the Baha'is of Paris) to Muzaffar al-Din Shah (who was by then back in Tehran), again pleading for the protection of her brethren in faith. She wrote again to the shah only a few months later (December 1903), to express her 'sincere and humble thanks for your Majesty's prompt action in establishing order and justice in Yazd and Isphahan, for punishing the transgressors and assuring the safety and happiness of the beloved of God.'¹²⁴ This suggests, at least partly, either the extent of the influence of foreign Baha'is on the shah, or alternatively the importance that he attached to maintaining good relations with them as a foreign element, although it is quite likely that the shah also had his own reasons for establishing order in his country. In this second petition Muzaffar al-Din Shah read words that he did not expect from foreigners:

Oh Great King! Know you, that, through the holy and heavenly teachings of Baha'u'llah the Baha'is all over the world are looking toward Persia with loving hearts and willing hands to assist her Ruler, your Imperial Majesty, with their prayers, their devotion, their love and allegiance . . .¹²⁵

Fourth, it seems that towards the end of Nasir al-Din Shah's rule and the beginning of the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, the official anti-Baha'i drive had to some extent abated, and that the 'winds of freedom were blowing' to such an extent that the Baha'is took immediate advantage of it and began to establish the Tarbiyat School.¹²⁶ Indeed, Baha'u'llah himself, who had died in 1892, had written that 'it has been for some time that in Iran, the ruler [Nasir al-Din Shah] . . . has been preventing these injustices of the world from [being inflicted upon] those people [i.e., Baha'is] . . .'¹²⁷ He told the Baha'is that 'no one should say an improper word against the government, since in spite of the opposition and hard-heartedness of the 'ulama', the Sultan [Nasir al-Din Shah] has behaved very well . . .'¹²⁸ Also, when persecution occurred in Yazd, Baha'u'llah attributed it to Zill al-Sultan rather than to Nasir al-Din Shah.¹²⁹

For Baha'u'llah, a major indication of Nasir al-Din Shah's *volte-face* towards the Baha'is was his release in 1884–5 of the Baha'is who had been arrested two years earlier on account of the political activities of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. Indeed, when documents concerning these activities (in which the Baha'is had originally been accused of involvement) were eventually found, Nasir al-Din Shah himself is said to have stated: 'Till now such activities have not been seen [committed] by that party [the Baha'is]', and he concluded that the seized documents were linked 'to a person who has found sanctuary in [the shrine of Shah] 'Abd al-'Azim.'¹³⁰

This relative laxity, especially after half a century of Babi/Baha'i persecution, gave the Baha'is an opportunity to present themselves as a very different community from what had been popularly thought of the Babis; i.e., they emerged as loyal and law-abiding citizens of the state. This meant, for instance, that Baha'i schools followed the Ministry of Education's regulations,¹³¹ held separate religious classes for Baha'i students (usually not even at the school), and it also showed the importance they attached to reform and modernization, science and education, democracy and basic human and civic rights, all of which were in line with both their own faith and the ideas of the Iranian reform movement.

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, state officials from higher and lower positions (as with Amin al-Sultan), probably found the differences and animosities between Babis/Azalis and Baha'is more apparent – namely, that the Babis were disobedient, while the Baha'is showed less antipathy towards the Qajars and were obedient subjects of government and state; that the former were a subversive element in the society, encouraging violent demonstrations (such as those in 1891–2) and advocating the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah,¹³² while the latter were peace seeking and loyal, and looked for nonviolent ways to bring about social change. After all, since the emergence first of the Babi movement and later of the Baha'i faith, much confusion had existed between the two, and in spite of the open conflict between Babis/Azalis and Baha'is, many Iranians who were neither Babi nor Baha'i found it difficult to differentiate between them. As Denis MacEoin states, 'much of the original animus against Baha'is was rooted in fears roused by Babi militancy between 1848 and 1853.'¹³³ Confusion about the two groups also existed among foreigners.¹³⁴ It is therefore possible that after a few decades of discord between Babis and Baha'is, a growing number of Shi'i officials, and probably also a certain segment of the population, acknowledged the difference between the two groups, and as a result adopted a more moderate attitude towards the Baha'is. This was clearly referred to by Butzow who, at the beginning of 1897, described the situation of the Baha'is in Iran as follows:

The followers of the Bab's teachings do not pursue political goals, and if they have suffered persecution at the hands of the Persian government in the reign of Nasiri'd-Din Shah, at present [i.e., under Muzaffar al-Din Shah's reign] they enjoy toleration . . .¹³⁵

As far as Muzaffar al-Din Shah was concerned, apparently he did not hold many grudges against Babis or Baha'is even while his father was alive. This is evident in his treatment of Haj Mirza Nasrullah Bihishti Isfahani Malik al-Mutikallimin, the famous and talented

rauzib-khan (professional narrator of the tragedies of Karbala) and orator, who later became one of the leaders of the pro-Constitutionalists in Iran. After converting to the Babi-Baha'i faith, Mirza Nasrullah was forced out of Isfahan by the local 'ulama'. It was Muzaffar al-Din Mirza, then the crown prince and governor of Azerbaijan, who not only gave him refuge in his provincial capital, Tabriz, but even bestowed upon him the title of *Malik al-Mutikallimin*.¹³⁶ Mirza Nasrullah, however, was not the only Baha'i close to Muzaffar al-Din Mirza; there were others, such as Haji Mirza 'Abdullah Khan Nuri Farrashbashi¹³⁷ and Mirza 'Inayat 'Aliabadi Mazandarani,¹³⁸ who were both from the close circle around Muzaffar al-Din Mirza.¹³⁹ Furthermore, under the general governorship of Muzaffar al-Din Mirza, no anti-Baha'i activities were recorded in southern Azerbaijan during the governorship of Amir Nizam Hasan-'Ali Khan Garusi.¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, it is also possible that by the end of the nineteenth century, and after 50 years of persecution, some within the Iranian Baha'i community began to doubt the ability of the Baha'is to survive further and continuing persecution, and therefore saw the relative lapse in maltreatment as a golden opportunity to create some facts on the ground, beginning with the founding of the Tarbiyat Boys' School.¹⁴¹

Fifth, the Tarbiyat and other early Baha'i schools that opened throughout Iran were registered under the names of individuals, with no indication, either in their permit applications or on the school's name-plaque, that they were Baha'i. For example, the permit to open the Tarbiyat Boys' School in Tehran was given by the Ministry of Education to Mirza Hasan Adib Taliqani (Adib al-'Ulama');¹⁴² the Ta'yid boys' school in Hamadan was registered at the Ministry of Education under the name of Haji Musa Mubin;¹⁴³ while the permit to open the Taufiq Boys' School in Yazd in 1927 was given to Khusrau Haqq-Pazhuh, who had completed his studies in India, returned to Iran, founded the school and became its first manager.¹⁴⁴ Wherever the founder of a school was the local Baha'i community in that place, the official permit to open the school was given only to one individual.

Registering Baha'i buildings and institutions under the name of individual Baha'is was not a practice limited to schools; it was also applied to a great many other buildings, some of which were registered in the name of 'Abdu'l-Baha. As one Baha'i wrote in 1908,

In most of the cities in Persia, the [Baha'i] Believers have bought houses in The Name of . . . Abdul-Baha, using them privately as the Bahai Temples. Many villages and towns have dedicated Houses in The Name of The Master; such as one house for Mashregol-Azkor [House of Worship], one house for travellers [hospice], one house for Bahai School [for boys], and one house for meeting and teaching The Truth.¹⁴⁵

Nor did the appearance of the Baha'i schools' teaching staff and pupils show any observable difference from those of other schools.¹⁴⁶ This probably helped, to a certain degree, to conceal the true identity of these schools. The fact that non-Baha'i students were registered in most of them probably also helped to downplay their Baha'i tendency. If this was indeed the case, then it could have been from the understanding of the founders that schools widely known to be Baha'i would have no chance of surviving the enmity and prejudice of the people; or it could have been a request on the part of an official for the very same reason.

Sixth, it could be that at least some of the Baha'i schools that opened throughout Iran were regarded as branches of the Tarbiyat Baha'i school in Tehran, which received official recognition by the state a few years after its opening. Indeed, many Baha'i schools which opened after Tarbiyat were named after it,¹⁴⁷ although there is no indication that they were under any sort of control by the Tehran Tarbiyat School. However, this does not explain the reason for granting official recognition to the first Tarbiyat School, although it could help to explain why other Baha'i schools were also recognized.

Seventh, it is possible that the opening of Baha'i schools in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century was directly related to the opening and expansion of other new school systems in Iran, i.e., those of the other religious minorities (Christian, Zoroastrian and Jewish) or those which belonged to foreign (Christian) missionaries and cultural associations (such as the AF and the AIU). At the end of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, and more so under his successor, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, it was becoming easier for Baha'is to propagate their faith throughout Iran. But without proper frameworks, especially educational facilities for children, these relatively more relaxed circumstances were ineffective. Furthermore, the existence and growth of competitive non-Baha'i religious propagation activity put the faith-identity of Baha'i children in danger, for the lack of Baha'i schools forced many of them (especially the girls) to attend existing schools which were either Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian or Jewish. It was this situation which played a major part in the decision to establish Baha'i schools.¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, there must have been many Baha'is who were financially unable to afford to send their children to any of the existing schools, whether traditional or modern, Muslim, foreign, or belonging to other religious minorities. Only in Baha'i schools could they expect to find an understanding of their religious duty to educate their children and financial assistance towards the expenses of this education.

Eighth, a possible (although somewhat far-fetched) reason for the belated official recognition of Tarbiyat could have been related to pressure that influential non-Baha'i families might have exerted on the Iranian government. Some of these families who had sent their children to Tarbiyat before it was officially recognized might suddenly have grasped the fact that, without the official recognition of the school by the Ministry of Education, their children's certificates would not be worth very much.

As outlined above, *Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banin* was the first modern Baha'i school to open in Iran. It was followed by the *Tavakkul* in Qazvin, the *Ta'yid* and the *Mauhibat* (for girls) in Hamadan, *Vahdat-i Bashari* in Kashan, *Tarbiyat-i Banat* in Tehran (for girls), *Ma'rifat* in Aran (near Kashan), the *Taraqqi* in Shahmirzad (near Simnan), *Mithaqiyyih* in Nayriz, and a number of similar schools in Abadih, Qumrud (near Kashan), Najafabad, Bahnamir (near Sari), Maryamabad and Mahdiabad (near Yazd), Barfurush, Sari, Bushruiyih (in Khurasan), Ishtihrad (near Karaj) and many other schools, for boys and for girls, in towns and villages with large resident Baha'i communities.¹⁴⁹

These Baha'i schools, as well as many other new non-Baha'i ones, were the result of decisions and measures that were taken by the Iranian government with regard to education, decisions which in turn had resulted from the pressures on, demands from, and needs of the state. Apart from the immediate steps of permitting a few dozen modern schools to be opened by individuals (such as *Rushdiyyih* and some members of the



FIGURE 7. A group of fifth-grade Tehran Tarbiyat Elementary Boys' School students with their teachers.

Front row (teachers; left to right): Nasrullah Mauvaddat, Mirza 'Ali Khan Farahmand, Fu'ad Ashraf, 'Abbas Firrat, Aqa Shaykh Ibrahim Fazil Shirazi, Sultan al-Khattatin, 'Abdullah Rahimi, Mirza Mihdi Khan Rahbar Kasravi (school's *nazim*).

2nd row (standing; from left): 'Ata'ullah Haqiqi (1st), Ruhullah Khan Mauvaddat (3rd),

3rd row (from left): Burhanullah Bartar (1st), Ghulam-Husayn Fathi (6th).

4th row (from left): Muhsin Aqa Amin (4th, with hand on chest).

Source: BWCA; Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 43. © BWC.

Anjuman-i Ma'arif), the state took a series of long-term measures to further develop modern education in Iran. A major change occurred in 1906, during the working of the first Constitutional government. The Ministry of Education (then called *Vizarat-i Ta'limat-i 'Ammih* or Ministry of Public Teaching) was given responsibility not only for controlling the 128 non-religious schools then existing in the country, but also for establishing new elementary schools (six grades in cities and towns and four grades in villages), as well as supervising the traditional religious schools (both the *maktab-khanib*s and *madaris-i 'ilmiyyih*), and encouraging the latter to reform their curricula to be more in line with modern education. This was the beginning of a process in which the state would gradually take over the supervision of all education in Iran while encouraging modern over traditional education – a process that reached its climax two decades later under Riza Shah Pahlavi.¹⁵⁰

The Baha'i schools excelled, not only in comparison with other local schools, but also compared with those of the other religious minorities and the foreign schools. They followed the curriculum of the Ministry of Education, but additional subjects, in line with the principles of modern European education, were taught in them. Much opposition was raised against the Baha'i schools, and this opposition was twofold, coming mainly from anti-modern and anti-Baha'i elements within Iranian society, and it was this opposition which continuously sought to bring about their closure.

A number of factors contributed to the occurrence of one of the most unexpected, yet hardly researched, phenomena of late nineteenth/early twentieth-century Iran, namely, the opening of modern Baha'i schools. Although the Qajar state did not officially recognize them as such, but rather as schools opened by individuals, it is most unlikely that neither the state nor the Muslim society was aware they were Baha'i schools. This fact, combined with the concurrent opening of other schools with non-Muslim religious inclinations (such as the AIU schools in 1898), could be an indication of a more liberal policy being adopted by the Qajar state towards the religious minorities, including those who were not officially recognized, such as the Baha'is. It seemed all right for the state to permit the opening of modern schools and to officially recognize them as long as no mention of them being Baha'i was officially made. As far as the state was concerned, those were private schools, whose founders received official permission from the Ministry of Education to establish and run them. Compared with the earlier years of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, the persecution of Baha'is by the state in the post-Nasir al-Din Shah period was relaxed to some extent. Furthermore, it seems that the differences between Babis and Baha'is had by then become more apparent, at least to various influential people. Muzaffar al-Din Shah, the new Qajar monarch, found himself in a period of increasing change, modernity and westernization. For some years, many leading intellectuals and reformers had regarded modern education as the secret of the West's superiority over Iran (and the Islamic world), and were therefore pressing for the foundation of modern schools in the country.

Even so, by the end of the nineteenth century, the achievements of the Iranian state and of Shi'i individuals in the field of education were meagre, and were a long way from meeting the rapidly growing demand for modern education, which for some meant promotion and more lucrative positions, and for others a probable salvation from poverty. The pressure must have become so great that the Qajar state had to allow the foundation of many modern schools, not only by Christians, Zoroastrians and Jewish minorities and organizations, but even by the hated Baha'is. However, in contrast to the former three religious groups – who were protected minorities in Iran – the latter community was not. Therefore, presumably so as not to arouse the harsh opposition of the Shi'i clerics and their followers, they were not granted collective permission – permission was instead given only to individual Baha'is, by name and without the official documents that would have carried an indication of their beliefs.

This state of affairs coincided with important developments within the Baha'i community worldwide, and more specifically in Iran. 'Abdu'l-Baha, who began his

leadership of the Baha'i community during the last years of Nasir al-Din Shah's rule, was probably able to feel the laxity in Baha'i persecution in Iran as well as the winds of the reform movement. As a good strategist, he found the time was ripe to propel the Baha'i community in Iran from obscurity into the open: by the end of the nineteenth century the Baha'is were well represented in Iranian society, from top to bottom, and the importance given in their belief system to reform, education, science and modernity had persuaded a considerable number of non-Baha'is either to convert to the Baha'i faith or to sympathize with the Baha'i cause. It seems that it was the synchronization of these circumstances that made the opening of Baha'i schools in late Qajar period possible.

MODERN BAHÁ'Í SCHOOLS AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

The students who studied at the Baha'i schools were considered quite privileged, for they usually received more or less the highest level and standard of education available at the time in Iran. This was in line with Baha'i teachings on excellence, especially in education. 'Strain every nerve to acquire both inner and outer perfections', said Baha'u'llah, adding that 'so much as capacity and capability allow, ye needs must deck the tree of being with fruits such as knowledge, wisdom, spiritual perception and eloquent speech.'¹ He called on Baha'is to '[g]uard against idleness and sloth', urging them to 'cling unto that which profiteth mankind, whether young or old, whether high or low . . .'²

The need for excellence was also stressed by his son, 'Abdu'l-Baha, who urged Baha'is to 'conduct yourselves in such a manner that ye must stand out distinguished and brilliant as the sun among other souls';³ to 'carry forward the various branches of knowledge'; and to foster the children

in the cradle of all excellence . . . Give them the advantage of every useful kind of knowledge. Let them share in every new and rare and wondrous craft and art. Bring them up to work and strive, and accustom them to hardship. Teach them to dedicate their lives to matters of great import, and inspire them to undertake studies that will benefit mankind.⁴

These and similar teachings are examples of the striving for excellence which was urged upon all Baha'is by their leaders, and which can be seen as one reason for the excellence of the Baha'i schools in Iran. In this respect, the following statement of 'Abdu'l-Baha is to the point: 'It is incumbent upon Baha'i children to surpass other children in the acquisition of sciences and arts . . . Whatever other children learn in a year, let Baha'i children learn in a month.'⁵

It was teachings such as these that made Baha'i schools adopt a richer curriculum for their students. Indeed, as discussed previously, every Baha'i school adopted the curriculum of the Ministry of Education and – following approval by the Fundamental Law of Education (*Qanun-i Asasi-yi Farhang*), which also specified the programme for modern schools in Iran (1 November 1911)⁶ – did so willingly.⁷ However, in addition to

the curriculum set by the Ministry of Education, these schools introduced other subjects which further enriched the students' knowledge and provided them with additional skills. These included new subjects, such as singing and music classes, as well as classes in foreign languages (mainly French and English), painting, sewing, embroidery, cooking and lace making. In addition, there were various other activities, including sport (such as arena polo) and arts (theatre). Additional classes, such as Esperanto, manners and speech were also arranged for the students, in order to expand their knowledge in other useful fields, and took place even after the Baha'í schools were closed down by the authorities.⁸ The Baha'í (and some foreign) schools were usually the first to use certain teaching facilities well before they were introduced in other schools; these included amenities such as blackboards, geography maps, benches and desks, laboratories and libraries. Not all Baha'í schools, however, had such a rich curriculum and enjoyed all these facilities. In general, the larger the Baha'í school and the more centrally located (namely those located in the main cities, such as Tehran, Hamadan, Kashan, Yazd, etc.), the richer the curriculum offered and the range of facilities available.⁹ Baha'í Summer Schools, in which Baha'í children from all over the world gathered (and still do), provided further training, whether for a few days or several weeks.¹⁰

The religious duty to educate their children, combined with the winds of change and modernization which were blowing through Iran, especially from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, had motivated many Baha'ís to do their utmost to provide the best education possible. It was therefore not enough to establish modern Baha'í schools with a richer curriculum; it was also necessary to ensure their continuous operation. To this end, all Baha'ís, rich and poor, individually and collectively, mustered all their resources and energies. For example, in 1913, some five years after being founded, the Baha'í community of Hamadan decided to direct all their share in the earnings from the public bath and butchery (which they owned jointly with the Jewish community of Hamadan), to the Ta'yid School.¹¹

Although it would be reasonable to expect Baha'ís to praise their own schools,¹² it is quite surprising to find evidence of Iranian authorities and officials attesting to the excellence of the Baha'í schools, in spite of the generally hostile attitude towards the Baha'ís in Iran.

The Tarbiyat School, as the first modern Baha'í school founded in Iran, and being located in the capital, Tehran, under the close and observing eyes of the central government, drew the most attention. Various Ministry of Education documents, signed either by the education minister or the ministry's head of inspection and sent to 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish, one of the school's managers, ranked both the Tarbiyat Boys' and the Tarbiyat Girls' Schools at the top of all schools in Iran, in terms of compatibility with the Ministry of Education's programme, the students' knowledge, the educational standards and behaviour, and the management of the school.¹³ Some of the graduates of the Tehran Tarbiyat Boys' School, which was considered to be the best of all the Baha'í schools, if not of all the schools in Iran, managed – due to the depth and breadth of knowledge that they had acquired in the school – to reach high positions and posts in the country in the state and private sectors, as well as in the armed forces.¹⁴

In 1910 Sydney Sprague, an American Baha'í educator in Tehran, wrote a letter to a friend in Washington, in which he described Tarbiyat-i Banin's excellence and popularity:

We have at present 270 pupils, about 50 new ones having come to us during the past two months, for the school has really a very fine reputation in Persia. It is claimed by everybody as one of the very best. Several new schools have been founded here since the granting of the constitution and though liberally helped by rich Persians, none of them equal ours. The other day a professor from the Doral Fonoun [Dar al-Funun] (Shah's University) came to our school to examine the boys in arithmetic, algebra and geometry. He had been sent by the government to visit all the schools. After examining carefully each class, he told me that our school in Teheran had such bright and intelligent boys and that in mathematics we were 'way in advance of other schools'.¹⁵

Sprague, who taught English at the school, believed that 'one of the reasons why we make greater progress is that our school program is based on that of the American school [system].' Students were divided into different levels and studied English, Arabic, mathematics and other subjects every day, instead of a few days per week. This made Tarbiyat unique and outstanding. Sprague described the entire progress of a 7-year-old boy who attended Tarbiyat up to his graduation from the school:

During the first three years he must study Persian and a little mathematics, geography and history. Then when the boy has a good ground work in Persian, he may start either in English or French. Mirza Farajullah Khan is the French teacher and a very good one, and I am the English teacher assisted by Fariborz who came with me from Acca. During the five years of the advanced course the boys study one of these languages, so that when they leave they are able to converse, write and translate. They study ancient and modern history, foreign languages and Persian, mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. They all, of course, must study Arabic. I teach also some physiology and botany to my advanced classes in English. We have eleven teachers now. We have a president of the school, Dr. Ata Ollah Khan [Bakhshayish], whose duty is to visit the school each day for an hour and report to the committee, which meets every week.¹⁶

Tarbiyat's exceptional standard of education attracted students not only from Tehran, but also from other cities, to such an extent that Sprague was thinking of building dormitories and turning the school into a boarding school. As was done in American schools, Sprague even started a boys' club for the older boys in the school; it met every week. He asked his Baha'i friends in America to send used copies of *Literary Digest* and any other American magazines, as well as some plays for boys, in which 'no girls partake', and with short and easy acting roles.¹⁷

Apart from the Dar al-Funun, Tarbiyat (in 1913) was one of the very few schools in Iran with intermediate classes. For teaching those classes, Bakhshayish recruited some teachers from the Dar al-Funun, who were known at that time to be among the highest-rated teachers and scholars in Iran.¹⁸ This added greatly to the fame of Tarbiyat, and consequently turned it into one of the few modern schools available for many families, especially from Tehran's aristocracy, to send their children to. The school thus attracted

the attention of the Ministry of Education – which did not cease to praise it – as well as that of Ahmad Shah Qajar (1898–1930, r. 1909–25), who even bestowed one of the country's highest scientific medals on Bakhshayish.¹⁹

The Tarbiyat-i Banat also set the highest standards for other Baha'i and non-Baha'i schools for girls. American female educators were instrumental in turning this school into one of the best, if not the best girls' school in Iran.²⁰ Letters written by American Baha'i teachers are an important source of information concerning the Baha'i schools in Iran.²¹ For example, one can learn about certain educational activities in the Tarbiyat-i Banat from correspondence between Sarah Clock, an American Baha'i educator in Tehran, and Mrs Orol Platt, from the Baha'i community in the USA:

If you want to do something very nice for us, send us Isabel Fraser's book.²² Someone sent it to Miss Stewart and I have seen it; it is a very nice one to show to a beginner. Sometime after you have read your magazines send us once in a while; they are of great value to us for our own reading & to show to the pupils in the school; pictures of all kinds are very useful, no matter how small; they use them as prizes in the school. Miss [Lillian] K. [Kappes] cuts out the small advertising pictures in the back of the magazines & pastes them in the spelling books as reward for good work.²³

As teaching tools, such magazines²⁴ were useful for their pictures as well as providing 'an idea of what is going on in the world.'²⁵ Also, picture postcards became a teaching tool, and pupils at the school were taught about what they saw in them. Even needles, sent to the school from the USA, became 'a great boon' for teaching cross-stitching and sewing.²⁶ Another important tool, which was 'very expensive' in Tehran, and '*very very scarce*', was the writing paper, which Miss Clock asked to be sent from the USA.²⁷

Character building and morals enhancement were high on the school's list of priorities. Sarah Clock was so critical of the character of the Iranian people – children and adults alike – that she said: 'I do not know one single person upon whose word you may rely, *not excepting one . . .*'²⁸ She believed that this problem had to be tackled, at least within the school, and it seems that the American staff thought they had found the solution for it: 'I think that some of the girls will learn to tell the truth for Miss [Lillian] K. [Kappes] washes their mouths well [after they were caught lying] with good strong laundry soap & it has worked wonders.'²⁹

It seems that the system and programme of education at the Tarbiyat Girls' School was so distinctive that, according to Miss Clock, 'no matter where you go in a meeting or anywhere else you can always pick out a girl from the Tarbiyat School from her behaviour and general conduct.'³⁰ The gap between the methods, content and quality of teaching that characterized Tarbiyat, on the one hand, and that of the other girls' schools, on the other, was so extensive that 'it was easy to see the better class of girls [in Tehran] were Tarbiat girls.'³¹ They were not only better behaved, but were also better educated. For example, the book from which the average Iranian student studied geography was 'a very little book, with very little in it.' Furthermore, 'the Persian method of teaching' was 'to memorize a whole string, & no matter whether they [the pupils] understand it or not . . .'³² And in Miss Clock's opinion, 'The only one way in which they can be taught'

was according to the method that was adopted by the foreign and most minority schools in Iran at the time, namely 'by learning another language and teaching them in it.'³³

The following is an example of how a subject was taught in the Tarbiyat Girls' School in a much more advanced way than it was taught in the contemporary teaching system in Iran:

The idea of maps [for geography lessons] is a wonderful one; if you were to see the Persian geographies you would be amused. They are in size about $\frac{1}{2}$ of this sheet of paper [B5] & $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick & very little between the two covers. Miss K[appes]'s ambition has been to have the girls have enough knowledge of English to teach them proper geography; she has written Rand & McNally for information about maps; the kind they want are those that can be hung, one each of the five continents & a world map. That makes a proper set . . .³⁴

In the 'very small' Persian geography book, there was 'no sign of a picture or map'; therefore wall maps were one of the teaching tools requested from the States.³⁵

In English classes Miss Kappes used 'only the very best books & very best poems',³⁶ and the pupils were asked to memorize them. She also sang for them.³⁷

Greater and smaller challenges faced the American teaching staff of the Tarbiyat Girls' School. For example, a trivial item like plain chalk was hard to find in Iran, and the locally made brand was so coarse that it was 'almost useless.'³⁸ Other difficulties and challenges were mostly inherent in the differences between the American and the Iranian staff of the school – in character, culture, teaching methods, managing finances, etc. In short, it was modernity versus tradition. So great were the difficulties that Sarah Clock, referring to the central role played by Miss Kappes in the school, believed that 'if Miss Kappes were not a Baha'i or not less than a saint she would not have put up with all she has.'³⁹ For five years the Iranian-ruled management committee of the school had not allowed her 'to use her own advanced ideas' at the school.⁴⁰ This was mainly 'because one man has power but no sense.'⁴¹

But in the age of change, reform and modernity, such ideas and such people (like Miss Kappes) were a necessity. It was probably due to such thinking that the school's committee, after identifying that 'one man' as an obstacle, finally 'turned him out', replacing him with an 'advanced' and European-educated man.⁴²

With the right man in power, and with the energetic American teaching staff, the school was able to 'come up wonderfully.' Thus, 'several young girls who had been pupils and learned how to teach, discipline, etc., became teachers.' This development enabled one of the American teachers, Miss Elizabeth Stewart, to take on the teaching of the highest class – the seventh grade. In this class, which taught the pupils 'a great deal', they studied first aid to the injured and nursing, while Sarah Clock taught them anatomy, physiology and other new subjects. They even had a skeleton, which each girl studied and knew well.⁴³

During the school's 1915 summer vacation, the school committee disbanded, but in the new committee of five members it was still possible to see the man who had previously been forced out and who was the enemy of Miss Kappes, as well as 'two teachers whom every one knows cannot teach.' With such unskilled and conservative members,

the situation at the school deteriorated to such an extent that when Miss Kappes returned to school from her vacation in September 1915, 'everything was in terrible shape.' This prompted the committee to offer Miss Kappes the chance 'to take full charge of the finances, a thing they failed in themselves.' However, she declined, mainly because the committee required no tuition fees from many pupils whose families could in fact afford to pay them.⁴⁴ Sarah Clock observed that 'the Persians will never pay money for anything if they can help it.'⁴⁵

In spite of all the drawbacks, Miss Clock observed that 'the girls have made wonderful progress', but added that 'could they have had what can be given them they would be much better.'⁴⁶ She also noted that 'many of the girls know enough English to be taught all sorts of subjects in English.'⁴⁷ Indeed, the progress of some of the pupils was so good that an offer was put forward by a few Baha'is to open another school where such girls would 'teach for nothing.'⁴⁸

Thus, the Tarbiyat Girls' School became 'the only school in all this country where these things [the new subjects] are taught in this way [i.e., by analysis rather than memorizing].'⁴⁹ According to Sarah Clock there were 200 pupils in the Tarbiyat-i Banat, but she observed that 'the number varies because of change of location of the people who go to other cities – to live.'⁵⁰

The many methods and improvements instituted in the Tarbiyat Girls' School turned it into a model that was 'copied by the other Persian girls' schools' in Iran.⁵¹ It was also unique in the sense that it was the only girls' school which was 'graded in the same way [as the boys' schools].' In order to justify such grading, the pupils at the Tarbiyat-i Banat 'were encouraged . . . to prepare for an examination & certificate given by the Gov.' Their hard work paid off, and 23 of the Tarbiyat girls succeeded in receiving the much sought-after certificate after taking the examinations in June 1916.⁵²

The American teaching staff was probably one of the main reasons for the school's excellence and fame, and often received praises 'from the Persians on all sides'.⁵³ As noted by Habib Thabit, a leading businessman of the Pahlavi period who, with his sister Tahirih, had studied at Tarbiyat, the school was run by highly skilled teachers who were fully committed to their work. According to Thabit, their commitment

was not for the trifling salary which they received, but because they regarded teaching the children of mankind, from any sect, nation, and religion, as a heavenly service and they really bore in their mind the essence of Plato's saying that . . . 'there is nothing more heavenly than education, and it is through education that a person becomes a real human.'⁵⁴

The staff was also successful in getting more from their students because they were loving and caring towards them, just as much as they were exacting and demanding. This attitude had a very positive impact on the students and their achievements in school.⁵⁵

The two Tarbiyat Schools in Tehran set high standards for other Baha'í and non-Baha'í schools in Iran. Various official reports, written by high officials of the Kashan branch of the Ministry of Education to the minister in Tehran, repeatedly attested to the excellence of the Vahdat-i Bashar Baha'í School in Kashan, to its following of the programme and regulations of the Ministry of Education, and to the fact that its staff demonstrated

درود استخوان ... سالیانه

شماره ۱۵
تاریخ
مادران بزرگوار ۱۳۳۵

ECOLE TARBIAT TEHERAN

اسم شاگرد ... آمانی علی

اسم اولی ... محمد هفتاد

کلاس ... دوم علوم

نمرات شفاهی		دروس	نمرات کتبی		دروس
۶۵	۹۲	حساب	"	"	تسوان
۹۴	۱۹	هندسه	۹۴	۹-	شرقات
۱۰۹	۹۲	جغرافیا	۹۲	۹-	فارسی
"	"	جبر و مقابله	۹۲	۹۲	عربی
۹۲	۵۵	فیزیک	۶۵	۹-	ادبیات
۹۲	۶۵	شیمی	۹۲	۹۲	تاریخ ایران
۹-	۶	تاریخ طبیعی	۹۱	۹۴	تاریخ عمومی
۸۶	"	مشق خط	"	"	تاریخ اقصاء
۹۳	"	سیاق	۹-	۹-	تعلیمات قدیمه
۶۴	۹-	رسم و نقاشی	"	"	علم الاشیاء
"	"	زینتیک	۸۷	۸۳	زبان
۸۶		معدل نمرات امتحانات	۸۷		عزت
۸۵		معدل نمرات سالیانه	بسیار خوب		رفار
۸۶		معدل کل نمرات	ممتاز است		مواظبت و لوازم تحصیل

* نسیجه * سر ادا و تصدیق نامردان کلاس ششم تهران در روز یکم شهریور ۱۳۳۵

توضیح نمره اول به نهم نامحسوب و از نهم به نهم نسیجه و از نهم به نهم نسیجه و از نهم به نهم نسیجه

* امضای دانش آموز * * امضای دبیر * * امضای ناظم *

در اطاق آمانی علی صدر

FIGURE 8. Sample of a grade sheet (*karnamih*) in Persian of a student at the Tehran Tarbiyat High School (1917). © BWC.

Sheet of examination
of year

Date..... No. 105

TARBIYAT SCHOOL TEHRAN

Pupil's name. Agha Seyid, Ali Father's name.....
Class. VIII.....

Lessons	Oral numbers	Written numbers	Lessons	Oral numbers	Written numbers
Coran	"	"	Arithmetic	9,2	7,5
Persian	9-	9,2	Geometry	8,9	9,4
Arabic	9,3	9,2	Geography	9,2	8,9
Literature	9-	6,5	Algebra	"	"
Persian history	9,4	9,4	Physic	5,5	9,2
General history	9,4	9,1	Geology	6-	9-
Prophet's history	"	"		"	8,6
	9-	9-		"	9,3
Language	8,3	9,7	Gymnastic	9-	9,4
				"	"

5 — The number from 9,5 till 7 good, from 2 till and from 5 to down is bad

FIGURE 9. Sample of a grade sheet in English of a student at the Tehran Tarbiyat High School (1917). © BWC.

capability, resolve and seriousness in their teaching, and were dedicated to the education and success of their students. These reports were produced from both random and planned visits, and the school was usually graded as equal to 'one of the best 6–7 grade schools of Tehran',⁵⁶ and the best school in Kashan (both for boys and girls).⁵⁷

Like the Baha'i schools in Tehran and Kashan, those in Hamadan were also very good. For example, from an educational and scientific point of view, the Baha'i Mauhibat Girls' School became the best school for girls in Hamadan, thus managing to arouse the envy of other, non-Baha'i schools. When a teacher in one of these other schools asked a Mauhibat teacher to explain the reasons for its superiority, she replied that the reasons had to be sought in the following:

There is a mother-child relationship between teachers and students, they do not distance themselves from the students and regard all as one kind, and while the students of the Muhibbat School come to study knowledge, education, and to receive the principles of good behaviour and morals . . . the girls of the other schools, such as those of the American College and the Jewish Alliance, go to school in order to pass time and for dissipation and this is the difference between the Muhibbat School and the other girls' schools.⁵⁸

In 1910, when Monsieur André Ittihadiyyih became the headmaster of the Ta'yid School, major changes took place in the quantity and quality of the school's cultural and scientific programmes. More attention was given to music, art clubs were established and the educational programmes were extended. He employed many highly qualified teachers and managed to turn the Ta'yid from a primary school into an intermediate school, in which modern sciences as well as the Persian, Arabic and French languages were taught at the most advanced levels. The progress of the Ta'yid School in those early years was so rapid, and its fame so widely circulated in Hamadan, that many of the city's civil officials and famous people also sent their children to the school, without any hesitation or superstitious notions. Thus, the number of students at the Ta'yid School soon exceeded 700, 'and left the American and Alliance schools in the shadows . . .'⁵⁹

The two Baha'i schools in Hamadan also had an impressive library of 4,000 books in Persian, French, Arabic and English, used extensively by their students and the local Baha'is.⁶⁰

In the town of Yazd, the first female students who managed to receive a sixth-grade graduation certificate were from the local Baha'i Tarbiyat Girls' School,⁶¹ and during its last two years of operation, all the students of the Taufiq Baha'i Boys' School who participated in the final nationwide exams for sixth-grade graduation passed the exams successfully and received the desired certificate; this made Taufiq the best boys' school in Yazd.⁶²

The Baha'i schools in the small towns and in villages probably found it difficult to maintain the level of education of the Tarbiyat in Tehran, but they were still far better than other schools in their area. Thus, while the Abadih State School had only four grades, the local Baha'i school had six, and even managed later to open the seventh and eighth grades as well.⁶³ In Khushih, Gurgan, the first group of students from the Baha'i local school who had completed the fourth grade managed to pass the Ministry of Education's exams for the fifth grade!⁶⁴

In Ayval, one of the villages of the provincial village (*dibistan*) of Chahar-Dangih Surtij (which in turn belongs to the region of the provincial town [*shabristan*] of Sari, located in Mazandaran province), a Baha'í school was founded in 1923–4 by a Baha'í named 'Abd al-'Ali Shahmirzadi (known as 'Shahab'). At first the Muslim residents of the village were opposed to its opening. They complained to the local authorities that by opening the school, the Baha'ís intended to turn their children away from Islam, and they avoided sending their children to the school. But after three years, when they could see that the Baha'í children had become educated while their own children were not making much progress in the old *maktab-khanibs*, they began to flock to the Baha'í school to register their children so that the children would receive a proper education.⁶⁵ Furthermore, when Shahmirzadi sent a sample of the handwriting (*khatt*) of the school's students to Haji Shaykh 'Ali Vulu'í (one of the two influential local clerics who had earlier complained to Sarim al-Sultan, the local governor, about the opening of the Baha'í school), Vulu'í presented the handwriting sample to the local village council and confessed: 'This is the penmanship and knowledge of four months of their education. It is fair to say that the knowledge of our children, who have been studying with these *akbunds* for the [last] five years, does not match that of those [who have been studying at the Baha'í-run school] four months . . .'⁶⁶

The excellence of the Baha'í schools, and especially of those founded in villages far away from the main urban centres, even became a selling point for Baha'ís in promulgating their faith and beliefs. For example, Aqa Mirza Isma'íl Khan Shirazi, one of many Baha'ís who visited the school in Ayval, told 'Abd al-'Ali Shahmirzadi, the founder of the school:

This school of yours has become our means of [Baha'í] propaganda in Mazandaran. Whoever asks us as to the proof for the legitimacy of the Blessed Cause [*Amr-i Mubarak*, or Baha'u'llah's revelation], we say because the Baha'ís have founded a school in a small village in the Chahar Dangih area, [while] you have not been able yet to succeed [in founding schools] even in the towns, where [all] means are available [to you], and your children are wandering in the streets.⁶⁷

Some seven or eight months after the founding of the Baha'í school in Ayval, Sarim al-Sultan visited the school. He was so impressed with the school and the students' achievements that he could not stop praising them, while seeing fit to revile those who, because of their bigotry, had opposed the school's opening. Before he left the school he even made a donation and asked to be notified if the school should have a budget deficit, so that he could ask for financial assistance from the provincial government.⁶⁸

Abu al-Qasim Fayzi (see Figure 6), whose contribution to Baha'í education relates to the period after the schools' closure in 1934, explained the advantage and superiority of the Baha'í schools in Iran, with reference to those of Najafabad, thus:

The only monument of education training and love for knowledge and art was [provided] by the Baha'í schools. Because the state founded and ran most of the other [educational] institutions, it forced individuals, through encouragement and exhortation, to enter the *makatib*, but these [Baha'í] schools were built by the masses

of the nation, meaning the villagers and peasants, with their own hands, and who with complete will and desire donated money and provided protection and served in those institutions with trifling salaries, and turned to educating Baha'i and non-Baha'i children with full pride and they loved the students with all their hearts and souls, even running their domestic lives and having them under close control and seeing to their needs, guiding and directing them towards all of the best moral values and human virtues . . . ⁶⁹

The Sa'adat-i Banat Girls' School, which opened in Najafabad in 1925, turned, within a short period, into one of the best educational institutions of the Isfahan region, causing much astonishment among the officials of the local branch of the Education Ministry as to what made the students of this, as well as those of the boys school, so well educated.⁷⁰

In conclusion, the Baha'i schools – according to the testimonies of both Baha'is and non-Baha'is – were highly positioned, if not highest, on the scale of modern and quality education in late Qajar and early Pahlavi Iran. This fact led a growing number of non-Baha'is to send their children to those schools. Based only on the available data, as mentioned in Table 1, there were some 4,915 students studying in the Baha'i schools throughout Iran. Given that a considerable amount of information, including student numbers, is still lacking with regard to many of the Baha'i schools (especially those in Fars and Gilan provinces), one must strongly assume that the number was actually much higher. It was certainly far greater than the number of students who attended the schools of the CMS (1,090 in 1937) and the American Presbyterian mission schools (1,185 in 1934 or even 3,658 at the height of their activity in 1922), combined.⁷¹ Even when it is compared to the available figures for national attendance in elementary schools (78,000 for the year 1926–7),⁷² the number of those known to have enrolled in Baha'i schools is still impressive, at about 6.5 per cent. Again the percentage is probably considerably higher when the missing data is taken into account, and at any rate is much higher than the percentage of Baha'is in the total population.⁷³

Furthermore, one can confidently assume that the percentage of students enrolled in the Baha'i schools was even higher when compared to alternative schooling at the local rather than the national level. In light of the priority given by the late Qajars, and especially by the first Pahlavi rulers, to urban over rural areas, the percentage would probably be even higher in favour of the Baha'i schools. Regrettably, the available data concerning the Baha'i schools is still far from complete.

BAHA'I KINDERGARTENS

In addition to the Baha'i schools, which operated throughout Iran in areas with large Baha'i communities, there were also a few Baha'i kindergartens in major cities and towns such as Tehran, Hamadan, Kirman, Yazd, Qazvin and Najafabad, all run by the local Baha'i communities. Several of these kindergartens were founded just before the closure of the Baha'i schools, with the remainder just after. It is probable that the opening of Baha'i kindergartens was partly a result of the growing importance attached by Baha'is to the education of the youngest children. Under Riza Shah, the climate for opening such kindergartens was favourable, since the state's education policies included not only the

creation of a modern state school system (primary and secondary), but also education for both the older and the pre-school population. Indeed, although the beginnings of pre-school education could be traced back to about 1891, when the Armenians of Julfa founded a kindergarten, the first official kindergarten licence was issued by the Ministry of Education only in 1931, and the Supreme Council on Education (Shura-yi 'Aali-yi Ma'arif) did not ratify the first set of regulations for kindergartens until two years later.⁷⁴ Kindergarten curricula normally consisted of games, handicrafts, drawing, music, storytelling, field trips and instruction in the rudiments of reading and writing.

It seems, however, that Iranians at that time still attached less importance to pre-school than to school education, for by 1936–7 there were still only 25 kindergartens operating in the whole of the country.⁷⁵ Whether included within this figure or not, the five Bahá'í kindergartens (see Table 2) certainly accounted for a good share of pre-school educational activity in Iran.

The Bahá'í kindergartens that had opened before the closure of the Bahá'í schools at the end of 1934 were also ordered to close by the state. Those founded after that time were mainly aimed at providing some alternative Bahá'í education framework for pre-school Bahá'í children.

In 1933 a Bahá'í named Shahriyar Himmati founded a Bahá'í kindergarten, to which he gave his own name, Himmati; and Bilqis Mishkiyan – a Bahá'í woman from Ashgabat, with an academic degree in education and experience in running a kindergarten – took over its management. Some 50 Bahá'í, Zoroastrian and Muslim children studied at the Himmati Kindergarten. No religious teaching was given, and the stress was on cleanliness and hygiene, as well as good morals and behaviour.⁷⁶

Onera Merritt-Hawkes, a British journalist from Manchester who visited Kirman in 1933, wrote about the Himmati Kindergarten, providing information that sheds some light on what was generally taught to children at the Bahá'í kindergartens:

The children were from two to six years of age, paying only two *rials* a month, the local community of Bahais subscribing the remainder of the expenses. Each child has its own towel and on arrival washed its hands and nails and had its nails examined. That doesn't sound much in Europe, but in Kerman it took your breath away. That attitude of kindness to one another, of kindness to animals, the teaching that blows are not the only way to manage, was really startling in a land where corporal punishment, although theoretically abolished in the schools, was still considered the only practical discipline.⁷⁷

Modernity and patriotism were taught to the children in the same breath as hygiene and good citizenship – all important components in the kind of state for which Riza Shah was aiming. The children danced as they sang:

*We are children of the twentieth century,
We go to school every day,
We learn Persian,
We are the children of the future,
We must be clean and honest for our country's sake.*⁷⁸

A modern and European-like appearance was another item on the list of subjects taught to the children: 'They all had shoes, most of them had stockings and they were learning to use a handkerchief. They would not, like their parents, feel it necessary to wipe their noses on every post. That would make a pleasanter Persia!'⁷⁹

For Onera Merritt-Hawkes, as a European observer, the difference between what she had seen outside the kindergarten and what she witnessed inside was striking. 'I did not want to leave this place of happiness and hope, to go into the streets where the children's eyes were covered with flies, where their habits were cruel or disgusting.' She therefore had to be very clear in her conclusion from this visit to Iran: 'Persia needs schools like this . . .'⁸⁰ But this kindergarten, together with the Baha'i schools, was closed in December 1934, after which Miss Mishkiyan went to Yazd to open another Baha'i kindergarten there.⁸¹

After the closure of the two Tarbiyat Schools in Tehran, two Baha'i kindergartens were founded, one named *Mithaqiyyih* and the other *Tabiyyih* (or *Amadigi*). The building plans for the kindergartens were ordered by an Iranian Baha'i from the USA by the name of Ashraf, and a grand building of 1,000 square metres in size, fully equipped, was constructed. The chosen location was behind the building of the former Tarbiyat Girls' School, since most Baha'is still lived in the same area in Tehran (mainly around Amiriyih, Muniriyih and Intizam Streets).⁸²

An official from the Ministry of Education, a Baha'i named Rauhani – who had a PhD in education and held the post of supervisor of schools and kindergartens in that ministry – helped with obtaining a permit for one of the Baha'i women (who had formerly been manager of one of the Baha'i girls' schools) to open the Mithaqiyyih kindergarten, which was then staffed by Baha'i teachers.⁸³ It was another example of how the Baha'is managed, in difficult circumstances (whether under the late Qajars or early Pahlavis), to find a way to bypass the obstacles that were put in front of them.

As with the Baha'i schools, the scenario repeated itself: the first students were Baha'is, but gradually non-Baha'is also sent their children to that kindergarten, some even taking them out of other kindergartens in order to put them in Mithaqiyyih. But once again, while the fame of Mithaqiyyih not only attracted some non-Baha'i families to send their children to the kindergarten, it also aroused the animosity of others, who filed complaint after complaint against the Mithaqiyyih, demanding its closure on the pretence that the Baha'i faith was being taught to children there. Disturbed by the new (and highly popular) competition, owners of other kindergartens in the capital also joined in the complaints. The accumulated pressure finally produced the desired result and the kindergarten was closed down.⁸⁴

In Hamadan local Baha'is ran an kindergarten called *Amadigi* for children of pre-school age, in which boys and girls of 5 and 6 years old played, studied and even performed.⁸⁵

The Baha'i kindergarten in Yazd was set up by Bilqis Mishqiyan in 1934. It was for children aged between 3 and 5 years, who were inspected daily for cleanliness. The stress was mainly on encouragement rather than punishment. Children were taught elementary zoology,⁸⁶ sports and tricycle riding, and they also played, ate and took a nap in the afternoon for an hour. A party was held at the end of each year, to which the children's parents as well as the nobility of Yazd were invited. At such events the children used to sing, read poetry and perform plays.⁸⁷

The excellence of this kindergarten was attested to even by 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat, who was then minister of education. While visiting the adjacent Zoroastrian Markar Girls' School, he asked to visit the Baha'i kindergarten, having learnt of its existence. He was very impressed and surprised by the level of order and education at the kindergarten, and, after returning to Tehran, he sent Miss Mishkiyan a first-class gold medal.⁸⁸ However, such accolades were not sufficient to counteract the pressure to shut the kindergarten down, and it was finally closed in 1938, four years after its founding, on the pretext that Miss Mishkiyan, the manager, was from Ashgabat and not a native resident of Yazd.⁸⁹

The opening of the Baha'i kindergartens was another step in the development of modern education for Baha'i, as well as non-Baha'i, children. Here too one can observe a trend similar to that concerning the Baha'i schools, namely that the percentage of Baha'i kindergartens was far higher than the percentage of Baha'is in the general population. Comparing the available data on the overall number of kindergartens in Iran (25 in 1936–7),⁹⁰ the 7 known Baha'i kindergartens (see Table 2) represent some 25 per cent of the total.

NON-BAHA'I ATTENDANCE AT THE BAHÁ'Í SCHOOLS

'Abdu'l-Baha believed in education for all, and that children from other faiths and religions and not only Baha'i children should be educated and taught at Baha'i schools.⁹¹ This reflected Baha'u'llah's own message in this respect:

Bend your energies to whatever may foster the education of men . . . This education is of two kinds. The one is universal. Its influence pervadeth all things and sustaineth them. It is for this reason that God hath assumed the title, 'Lord of all worlds.' The other is confined to them that have come under the shadow of this Name, and sought the shelter of this most mighty Revelation.⁹²

No matter what stood behind such a belief – whether because of the central role of education in the Baha'i faith or because schools were regarded as an excellent medium for the propagation of the faith – the fact remains that it was solely the excellent reputation of the Baha'i schools, and the high level of education they offered, that gradually encouraged many non-Baha'is to send their children to attend them.

In contrast to the schools of other religious minorities in Iran, such as the Jewish and Armenian schools, whose student body was drawn almost exclusively from their own communities, the Baha'i schools (as well as the Zoroastrian and missionary schools) were also attended by children from the majority Muslim and the other minority religious communities.⁹³ However, it seems that among the latter three school categories, which were in the vanguard of reform and westernization in Iran,⁹⁴ the Baha'i schools were the most popular. The Zoroastrian schools were smaller in number, less widespread geographically and employed quite a large staff of British-trained Parsis from India. Similarly, the large presence of foreign Christian missionary teachers in the missionary schools limited the number of non-Christian families attending those schools. The Baha'i

schools, in contrast, were quite widespread and their staff was almost exclusively local. Furthermore, no religious teaching was included in the curriculum of the Baha'i schools. These facts, along with their drive towards excellence, and the respect, tolerance and care shown by the staff of the Baha'i schools towards all the students without discrimination, were important factors in drawing greater number of non-Baha'i children to the Baha'i schools. The fact that the staff of the schools was overwhelmingly Iranian (and not foreign, as in the other modern schools) seems also to have played a role in the relatively higher level of attraction of non-Baha'is towards the Baha'i schools.

Among the non-Baha'is who attended the Baha'i schools in Iran, there were many students from Zoroastrian and Jewish families (especially in towns and cities with large communities of Zoroastrians and/or Jews), but generally most were from Muslim families, some of whom were open-minded, influential and famous, whether on the local or national level, such as the royal family, ministers and governors, noblemen, high officials, big merchants (*tujjar*) and even Shi'i clerics. For example, among the non-Baha'i students who studied at the Vahdat-i Bashir Baha'i School in Kashan, one could find the sons of Hissam al-Saltanih, a Qajar prince; the son of Kashan's chief of police; and the sons of Dr Jahanshah Salih, who later became minister of health, and of his brother Ibrahim Khan Salih.⁹⁵ In Yazd the daughters of influential people, including local high state officials, and Yazd's *a'yan-va-ashraf* (aristocracy) such as the local military commander and head of the local gendarmerie, Gudarzi, studied at the Tarbiyat Baha'i Girls' School.⁹⁶ Similarly, another Baha'i school in the town, the Taufiq Boys' School, could count the sons of wealthy and influential families, such as the Heratis, among its pupils.⁹⁷

The sons of 'Abbas-'Ali Karshinas, who was head of the Najafabad branch of the Ministry of Education, studied in the Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banin Baha'i Boys' School in Najafabad, as did the children of other prominent local families such as the Azari, Izadi, Rasti, Sadiqi, Dusti, Bahmanpur and Tadayun families.⁹⁸ Some of these (such as the Azaris and Sadiqis), as well as others (including the families Najafabadi, Yazdani, Mihrparvar and Mahdavi), sent their daughters to the Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banat Baha'i Girls' School, and so did the chaplain (*pisb-namaz*) of Najafabad.⁹⁹ It was not a unique phenomenon for a Shi'i cleric to send his daughter to a Baha'i school. In Sangsar, one of the towns in Simnan province, the local *rauzib-khan* did the same, having said that he 'had more trust in the school of the Baha'is [than in the state school].'¹⁰⁰ In Sari, Shaykh Baqir, one of the most important and influential local clerics, who was also the local *Imam Jum'ib* (Friday sermon leader), sent his son, Mihdi Imami, to attend the local Baha'i school.¹⁰¹

The fact that the children of some famous and influential families, as well as the sons and daughters of political, military and economic figures on the national level, also attended Tehran's Tarbiyat Baha'i Schools (for boys and for girls) was due not only to the schools' excellent reputation, but also to the fact that they were located in the capital and especially in the Bagh-i Shah neighbourhood, where the Qajar and later the Pahlavi royal families, cabinet ministers, diplomats, generals and other high officials of the state had long resided.¹⁰² Indeed, Sattareh Farman Farmaian states in her memoirs that 'Shazdeh [Shahzadeh 'Abd al-Husayn Farman Farma, her father¹⁰³] . . . had sent us to Tarbiyat because it was close to the compound' on Sipah Avenue, in Bagh-i Shah, where the Farman Farmaians also lived.¹⁰⁴ Thus, in spite of Tarbiyat being 'an unconventional

choice of school' for noblemen, one could find among its students personages such as the young Muhammad Riza Pahlavi and his sisters Shams and Ashraf; Lieutenant-Generals Jahanbani and Ahmad Aqa Khan (later known as Amir Ahmadi); a number of the Farman Farma's children and those of many of his Muslim friends; along with many others.¹⁰⁵ (For details see Table 3.)

When Abu al-Qasim Fayzi was only weeks away from completing his military service, the commander of the regiment in which he served turned to him and said: 'I heard that you will be serving [i.e., teaching] at the Tarbiyat School. I am also going to entrust my children to you to educate as you see fit . . .'¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the Baha'is prided themselves on the Tarbiyat schools in the capital being so well managed and having such a high level of education that some of the most prestigious, rich and influential families of Tehran chose to send their children to them.¹⁰⁷

Another indication of the superior level of education (both of staff and students) at the Tarbiyat schools is the fact that the very same government that ordered their closure attempted immediately afterwards to employ their teachers at other schools in the capital, and to secure places for their students in other schools.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, when the two Tarbiyat schools of Tehran were closed, most of the non-Baha'is whose children were studying there were so astonished at this unexpected decision that they decided not to send their children to other schools but to await the reopening of the Tarbiyat schools. They very much regretted the closure, and some of the more influential people in Tehran unofficially complained to the Board of Education about the action.¹⁰⁹

The Tarbiyat Girls' School was also regarded as a means for the emancipation of Iranian women. Writing in an article in 1932 entitled 'Rah-i 'Alaj' (The Path to the Remedy), Furugh Zafar Bakhtiyari, head of the Central Committee of Women (Hay'at-i Markazi-yi Kul-i Banuan), identified knowledge, education and morals as the only remedy for eradicating illiteracy, superstitions and immorality. For this, she added, one needed to expand the Tarbiyat School, where the primary classes taught right/correct education (*tarbiyat-i sahib*), good morals (*akblaq-i nik*), a sense of kindness (*biss-i ra'fat*), love of country (*vatan-parasti*), love of the king (*shah-dusti*) and philanthropic duties (*vazayif-i nau'-parasti*), after which work, industry, agriculture and development should be created.¹¹⁰

Non-Baha'is not only attended the Baha'í schools as students, but were also part of their staff. Muslim teachers and *farrashes* (here, 'servants') played an important part in some of the Baha'í schools. For example, in the Tarbiyat Girls' School in Yazd, the teacher of Arabic and foreign languages was a certain Batul Fattahi, a Muslim who was the sister of the governor of Yazd.¹¹¹ The fact that there were Muslims who agreed to work at Baha'í schools, teaching Baha'í students, and who even engaged in serving and cleaning for them, could attest, among other things (e.g., financial need and employment opportunities), to the prestige of those schools in Iranian society.

In the case of other religious minorities, it can be observed that although quite a notable percentage of them attended the Baha'í schools as students, almost none worked there as members of the staff.¹¹²

During the period of their operation, the Baha'í kindergartens, pre-schools and schools

enjoyed considerable prestige as a result of their high standards of education; it was this that attracted a growing number of non-Muslims to send their children to attend them. For the Baha'is, the drive for excellence and perfection had a strong religious dimension, which may help explain the sacrifices made by local Baha'is, as well as Baha'is from distant countries, in enduring hardships and receiving minimal salaries in the service of promoting universal education for Baha'is and for others.

Data available on the Baha'i educational institutions in Iran already indicates that the number of such institutions, and of their student bodies, was far greater than the percentage of Baha'is in the population at large. Based on the available information it is also clear that it was not love of the Baha'is, but rather a strong regard for the high standards of the Baha'i educational institutions, that attracted a number of aristocratic, influential and important non-Baha'i families to send their children to study at these schools. They did so in spite of having other alternatives available to them, and in spite of the popular anti-Baha'i feeling prevailing in Iran. This very fact, by itself, is a strong indication of the high level of education and standards of teaching at many of the Baha'i schools. The fact that these institutions were also attended by non-Baha'i children (mostly Muslim) from the middle as well as from the lower classes, is a further indication not only of their high standards, but also of their improved image among the local populace.

OPPOSITION TO THE BAHA'I SCHOOLS

In spite of (or because of) their high standards of education, the Baha'i schools, which attracted ordinary people as well as a number of rich, famous and influential families to send their children as pupils, continued to face harsh opposition, mainly from the more traditional and conservative elements in the society, and specifically from the Shi'i clerics. This was hardly surprising, given the strong animosity towards the Baha'is in Shi'i Iran.

According to Shoghi Effendi, while the 'ulama' headed the opposition to the Babis and Baha'is, it was the Qajar kings and governors who willingly became the means through which this opposition was translated into action, as a way to obtain the clerics' support and backing for their own policies.¹ But as far as Nasir al-Din Shah was concerned, he had his own reasons for persecuting Babis and Baha'is (between whom he did not appear to differentiate). In 1852 a number of radical Babis had made a failed attempt on his life,² after which he made hounding the Babis one of his main domestic concerns.

This persecution also became an arena of competition between two rival Qajar princes – Zill al-Sultan (governor of Isfahan and Yazd) and Kamran Mirza (governor of Gilan and Mazandaran). Aware of their father's hatred for the Baha'is, they made every effort, with the help of the local 'ulama', to persecute and kill Babis and Baha'is in order to attract their father's attention and favour.³ This singling out of the Baha'is was not only supported, but was indeed actively inflamed, by leading *mujtabids* such as Mulla 'Ali Kani and Sadiq Tabataba'i in Tehran, and Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Isfahani, Mir Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Najafi in Isfahan, as well as by prominent Azalis such as Mirza Murtiza Sadr al-'Ulama'.⁴ In a letter addressed to the government, the latter protested the boldness of the Baha'is in holding meetings 1,000 to 1,500 strong, in preaching the Baha'i faith quite openly and in 'wishing to interfere with politics.' Sadr al-'Ulama' then asked the government for permission to kill the Baha'is 'as it was done in the past.'⁵ Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Najafi was very active in stirring up local governors and unleashing local mobs against the Baha'is. After doing so in Isfahan in 1889 and 1892,⁶ he embarked on similar activities at a more national level. In the summer of 1903, Aqa Najafi unleashed a mob of several thousand against the Baha'is, thus instigating a period of persecution against the Baha'is, not only in Isfahan, but also in and around Yazd. In Yazd, a hundred Baha'i men, women and children were tortured to death, houses were looted and burned, trees were uprooted, and field crops were trampled.⁷ According to Amin al-Sultan, whose son Mahmud Mirza Jalal

al-Daulih was the governor of Yazd, Aqa Najafi 'attempted to provoke similar massacres in many other towns of Persia, and had sent emissaries for this purpose to Sultanabad, Kazvin and Tehran.'⁸ Anti-Baha'i persecutions were also strongly supported and encouraged by the chief Shi'i *mujtabids* residing in Iraq. According to Amin al-Sultan, after the 1903 persecutions in Yazd and Isfahan, Muzaffar al-Din Shah received a telegram from the four chief *mujtabids* of Karbala and Najaf, 'approving the execution of Babi [Baha'i] heretics at Isfahan and Yezd and expressing a hope that the Persian Government would encourage their repetition in other cities.'⁹

With such a high level of active religious and political backing for the persecution of Baha'is, the other social classes throughout Iran (especially the easily influenced masses) joined in the harassment.¹⁰ In this way, the conservative elements in the society had a new scapegoat to which to attribute all major crimes and ills, such as the murder of Nasir al-Din Shah (in 1896) or the advent of constitutionalism and the Constitutional Movement in Iran.¹¹ This hatred towards the Baha'is continued well into the reign of the first Pahlavi king (1925–41) and even later.¹²

With such hatred prevalent within Iranian society, it was only natural that there would be strong resistance and opposition to the opening and running of Baha'i schools, and strenuous efforts were made to downplay the role of Baha'is in the schools (especially in the mixed ones) or to bring about their closure.

It was mainly religious reasons that brought Shi'i clerics and their followers to oppose the Baha'is in general, and the opening of their schools in particular. There were, however, other considerations involved. First, the opening of Baha'i schools was resisted as part of the clerics' wider opposition to innovation and modern education. Second, personal rivalries between the more enlightened and liberal 'ulama' and their conservative colleagues caused the latter to oppose whatever the former supported. And third, the lower clergy who ran the traditional *maktabs* saw their income and livelihood being taken away by these modern schools. They also saw teaching as their own prerogative and therefore resisted surrendering it to laymen.¹³ Furthermore, the more students went to modern schools, the less likely they were to attend the religious seminaries, and for the higher clergy, fewer *tullab* (religious seminary students) meant less influence and income as well. Thus, they even accused the non-Baha'is who wanted to open modern schools in Iran of being Babis/Baha'is whose sole intention in opening such schools was 'to turn the children of the people into Babis.'¹⁴

At the beginning of the Constitutional period, and after some heavy fighting that had occurred in Tabriz, calm was gradually returning to the city. It was at that point that a group of local teachers claimed that the Baha'is, having secured permission from the Ministry of Education, had established an elementary school in a place called Bagh-i Shahzadih. They argued that the Baha'is wished to propagate false ideas through education, and warned that they intended to establish more schools. They signed a petition to the Constitutional government, saying that such illegal activity should not be permitted because 'it was clearly written in the Constitution that councils which harm [the official] religion are not to be permitted, and this sect [i.e., the Baha'is] is not officially recognized.'¹⁵ The news alarmed Haji Mirza Yusif, one of the leading 'ulama' of Tabriz, who was very bitter about the prevailing circumstances, in which 'Westoxicated intellectuals' had more or less separated religious law (*masbru'iyat*) from the constitution

(*masbrutib*), thus allowing such matters to occur. Led by Haji Mirza Yusif, the local 'ulama' then protested in front of the Ministry of Education, and finally managed to bring about the closure of the school.

But once it was noticed that the school's name-plaque had not been removed, the protesting clerics suspected that since it was the month of Muharram, when the local people could be more easily mobilized in protest, the closure was only meant to be temporary. To secure the school's permanent closure, one of the clerics enquired whose sermon (*rauzib*) the local governor was intending to attend. On learning that it was a sermon by the leading *mujtabid*, Haji Mirza Muhsin Aqa, he and a number of his clerical friends went to Haji Mirza Muhsin's mosque and presented the case to him, asking for his assistance in persuading the governor to have the name-plaque removed and thus render the school's closure permanent. Haji Mirza Muhsin did indeed succeed in obtaining such a promise from the governor, and thus the Baha'i school in Tabriz was permanently closed.¹⁶

Around the 1920s, when the Vahdat-i Bashar Baha'i Boys' School in Kashan was progressing well and gradually becoming one of the best schools in Iran, one of the most ferocious opponents of Baha'is and the Baha'i faith, a certain Mihdi 'Abd al-Rasul, was appointed head of the Kashan branch of the Ministry of Education. A turbaned and cloaked *sayyid*, who used to introduce himself as *Misbab* (Light), 'Abd al-Rasul had previously stirred up anti-Baha'i feelings in Kirmanshah, and now, taking advantage of his new post, he took it upon himself to do the same in Kashan. He therefore began to send false reports against the school to Tehran. Those reports drew such a grim picture of the school that in 1921 he managed to get an order from the capital to close the school, an order which he happily carried out.

However, unlike the later closure of Baha'i schools in 1934, this closure did not last long: on hearing about it, 'Abdu'l-Baha telegraphed the prime minister, Qavam al-Saltanih, and asked for his assistance concerning the case. On receiving the telegram, Qavam immediately telegraphed Kashan and ordered the school to be reopened. Not only was this order acted upon immediately, but the local authorities even placed a group of gendarmes at the school to protect it for the following 20 days. This case not only represented an indication of the prevalent hatred towards Baha'is, but it was also a living testimony to the changing policies of the state, and to the influence and respect that 'Abdu'l-Baha enjoyed in some of the highest political circles in Iran.¹⁷

When the local 'ulama' in the holy city of Mashhad heard about the advancement of the Baha'i school in Faran (in Khurasan province), they immediately wrote to their colleagues there, asking them to try to stop such progress since Baha'is should not acquire courage and boldness, and to arrange that Mirza Quadrat-Allah Khan, the manager of the school, be removed from his post. However, the Faran clerics, who had good relations with Shah Khalil-Allah Rahmani, the founder of the Baha'i school in Faran, did not take any notice of these repeated requests.¹⁸

Such friendly relations between local Shi'i clerics and Baha'is were usually the exception, not the rule. In Sangsar (in the province of Semnan), as elsewhere, the Baha'i school was considered by the local people to be the best school in the region, not only in terms of the level of education, but also for its cleanliness. This fact was ample reason for some non-Baha'is to send their children to the school, in spite of the existence of other

schools in the area. However, that infuriated the local anti-Baha'i elements, who, through repeated complaints against the school to the Semnan branch of the Ministry of Education, managed to bring about the closure of the school in 1922. As a result, the school building as well as the building of the local Baha'i Spiritual Assembly (*Mahfil-i Raubani*) were destroyed by the local mob, incited by clerics from Sangsar and other places in Semnan.¹⁹ In 1908–9 a similar incident occurred with the Baha'i school in Sari, following the coup of Muhammad-'Ali Shah, when a mob of more than a thousand people attacked the school and smashed all its equipment.²⁰ One should not gather from such incidents that the Baha'is always sat idle in the face of this opposition and the physical attacks against their schools. Naturally, they preferred, if possible, to appeal to the local authorities and to use their contacts in the local and central governments to prevent the closure of their schools; but when such appeals proved futile, they took measures to defend themselves and their institutions. For example, in both 1910 and 1911, the Baha'is of Najafabad (near Isfahan) set up barricades to prevent a mob, equipped with hammers and picks, from tearing down the local Baha'i school.²¹

Under the authoritarian reign of Riza Shah Pahlavi, the anti-Baha'is had to be more careful and show more self-control. Even so, they found spiteful things with which to harass the Baha'is. For example, when the Baha'is of Hamadan opened a library in the Ta'yid Baha'i Boys' School, a certain military officer, Captain Muhammad Salihi, went into the library and insisted on 'borrowing' a very rare and expensive book, which he later refused to return, and instead sold to the Louvre Museum in Paris for a hefty price.²² Although it was just another case of anti-Baha'ism in Iran, it was also an example of the changing official policy towards the Baha'is, for when the librarian, Mr Lalihzar Lalihzari Hamadani, complained to Lieutenant-General Amir Ahmadi, the military commander in Hamadan, the latter immediately summoned Salihi to appear before him and Lalihzari, but by then Salihi had already sold the book, though he offered to pay for it.²³

The Ta'yid School, like other main Baha'i schools in cities with large Baha'i communities (such as Tehran and Kashan), was accustomed to holding parties, either on Baha'i holidays or on other occasions (such as graduation ceremonies), to which local high officials (such as the head of the police or the head of the local branch of the Ministry of Education) were invited. These parties aroused the animosity of many anti-Baha'is. The programmes for these parties included singing, music, theatre, sports displays, and so on, and tickets were sold not only to Baha'is, but also to non-Baha'is. At one of those parties at the Ta'yid School, which took place in the early 1920s, during the Rizvan holidays,²⁴ a group of anti-Baha'is began to make a lot of noise, threatening the people who were attending the party; they had an obvious agenda to interrupt the party and prevent it from continuing. At that time the army under Riza Khan was engaged in establishing security in western Iran. On hearing about the disruption, a Baha'i officer in the Hamadan garrison stationed at Qal'ih-yi Bahman Mirza, a certain Major Jalal Khan, asked his military commander (the same General Amir Ahmadi mentioned above) for permission to go to the school and establish security. With permission granted, Jalal Khan led a group of men towards the school, taking the garrison's military band with them. The band played all the way to the school, and continued to play after it had arrived. It was such a rare sight that it attracted many people to the scene, most of whom wanted to attend the party at the Ta'yid as well. Soon, the *2-riyal* tickets were being

profitably sold by scalpers for 5 *riyals*, and the party, which had been intended to last for three days only, continued for nearly two weeks!²⁵

The fame of Ta'yid's theatrical activities soon spread beyond the limits of Hamadan. In 1922 Farajullah Khan, the commander of the army, suggested that the Ta'yid School should perform a comedy show. The theatrical committee of the school consented and a comedy show was arranged. With the help and assistance of Farajullah Khan and Ahmad Aqa Khan, Commander of the Western Command (*Amir Lasbkar-i Gharb*), many tickets were sold, amounting in value to 700 *tumans* on one night. This popularity, and the success of the Baha'i school and its theatrical activity among the top brass as well as the people, again aroused the anger of the anti-Baha'i elements. They took advantage of the visit of a few leading 'ulama' from Najaf and Karbala and asked them to try to have the school closed. When the minister of education, Hakim al-Daulih, came to Hamadan to visit them, the issue was raised, and Sayyid Abu al-Hasan Isfahani, the leading *marja'-i taqlid* (source of imitation) at the time, asked the minister to close the school. Hakim al-Daulih, who could not oppose this leading cleric's request, ordered Sayyid Kazim Khan, the head of the Hamadan branch of the Ministry of Education, to close the school, and then left for Tehran.²⁶

In those days Hamadan was the headquarters of the army's Western Command. Many Baha'is, such as Habibullah Khan Mudabbir and others who were serving in the army at the time, enjoyed influence in many places, and thus managed to block the closure of the school. However, when Ahmad Shah Qajar visited Hamadan some time later – after he had visited the 'Atabat (Shi'i holy places in Iraq) so that he was therefore aware of the wishes of the 'ulama', whom he wanted to please – he ordered the commander of the army to close down the school. When the latter suggested changing the staff instead of closing the school, his proposal was accepted, and Mirza Muhammad Khan Dirakhshan, director of the Ministry of Education, hastened to suggest several names of replacement candidates to teach at the school. The school's management board showed no resistance, but pointed out that since the ministry was to decide who would teach at the school, then it should also be the one to pay their salaries. This caused much discussion within the ministry, which probably did not want to take on the expenses of several salaries. It therefore compromised by proposing that only one teacher would be employed by the school. The school's committee accepted, but made the acceptance of Sayyid 'Abbas Da'vat Islami, the new teacher, conditional upon him being tested. The test consisted of a few questions on *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and other subjects, and he was required to write down his answers. Failing to do so, he was mocked and rushed out of the school. Thus the school was saved from closure once again.²⁷

Nevertheless, the success, progress and fame of the Ta'yid School continued to arouse the bigotry of many anti-Baha'is who, unable to bring about its closure, conspired with an anti-Baha'i sympathizer in the Hamadan Ministry of Culture (a cleric named Haj Shaykh Baqir), and managed eventually to introduce Qur'anic lessons into its curriculum.²⁸

Another attempt to close the Ta'yid School goes back even further, to the beginning of the First World War, when Hizb-i Dimokrat (the Democratic Party) enjoyed both power and fame. Mirza Mahmud Khan, head of the Hamadan branch of the Ministry of Education, who was a member of that political party, conspired with a certain Sayyid Haji

Aqa from Sunqur, and with the support of Shaykh Baqir Bahari they claimed that since the Ta'yid School taught and propagated the Baha'i faith, the school should be looked after by a supervisor from the Education Ministry. Sayyid Haji Aqa was thus appointed as supervisor and sent to the school. His fees were fixed at 12 *tumans* per month, to be paid by the school, which at the time was managed by Monsieur André.²⁹

Instead of being engaged in supervising and teaching, the new supervisor was mainly engaged in anti-Baha'i activity as well as with 'saving' the Muslim students from the influence of the Baha'i faith. For example, he would force the Muslim students to curse the Baha'is and their faith, and on Fridays he used to take them to his own house. Since socializing with students outside the school was forbidden, Monsieur André fired Sayyid Haji Aqa. In response, the latter sent a letter to the Ta'yid manager, in which he used offensive language towards him and the Baha'i faith. This letter was forwarded by Haji Yuhannah Khan Hafizi, a member of the school's managing committee, to Shahbandari, the Ottoman ambassador to Tehran (since Sayyid Haji Aqa claimed to be an Ottoman subject), demanding justice. The Ottoman *chargé d'affaires* filed a complaint against the sayyid with the Ministry of Education. In turn, the Ministry, objecting to the behaviour of its official, asked the Ottoman *chargé d'affaires* to solve the problem in any way he saw fit; and the Ottoman official in turn asked Haji Hafizi to forgive the sayyid. This was unacceptable to the anti-Baha'i elements, who then turned to 'Ali Ihsan Bey, the commander of Ottoman forces in Iran,³⁰ and complained about the Baha'i injustice. Not only did this attempt come to nothing, but the Ta'yid School, together with the Nusrat State School, actively participated in the Ottoman celebrations for the conquests and progress made by their German allies in the war. This infuriated the anti-Baha'i elements even further. Sayyid Haji Aqa was thrown out of the school and the affairs of the school returned to their normal and regular pace.³¹

In spite of the anti-Baha'i activity, the case of the Ta'yid School was yet another example of the extent of the spread of Baha'i influence within and beyond Iranian society, and of the change in official attitudes and policies towards the Baha'is during the post-Constitutional years and afterwards. Indeed, a local official in the Ministry of Education, who in 1921 was in charge of looking into a complaint against the Vahdat-i Bashari Baha'i Girls' School in Kashan, wrote to his superiors in Tehran that 'since the situation in the country has changed and the rule of this area [Kashan and Natanz] has also become military [characteristic of the early 1920s], the former fuss [*qil-u-qal*] [against Baha'is] has died out . . .'.³² Such a change was even felt among the Shi'i clerics, who, probably out of fear of Riza Khan, preferred to attack their own rather than bring upon themselves the wrath of the new and powerful head of the army. It was the manager of the Vahdat-i Bashari School who informed the Ministry of Education that

Ayatullah Aqa Mulla Habibullah . . . and the rest of the clerics [*Hujjaj al-Islam*] [in the area] . . . had officially stated that . . . the incitement against the [Baha'i] school has never been on our part, but by a few such as [Aqa] Sayyid Ahmad Darulani and Sayyid [Aqa] Mahmud Rauzih-Khan and others, who out of different motives would like to promote corruption . . .'.³³

No matter what kind of rivalries there might have been between the two clerical groups,

still it is quite surprising that one of them had preferred indirectly to side with the Baha'is against the other.³⁴

As described above, the attitude of local officials towards the Baha'is and the Baha'i schools was ambivalent. Some of the officials were simply anti-Baha'i, and were constantly looking for any excuse to close the schools, while others – although not necessarily pro-Baha'i – were still sympathetic to the schools, simply because they were sufficiently objective to see the advantages of having them in Iran, especially when compared to the *maktab-khanibs*, or even to some of the country's other modern schools.³⁵

Resentment towards the Baha'i schools was aroused not only because of the fact that they were Baha'i owned, but also because they promoted education for girls.³⁶ Compared with the Baha'i schools for boys, those for girls had to face even greater challenges. In spite of the fact that both Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha gave priority to the education of girls over that of boys³⁷ – an idea that also found supporters among non-Baha'i intellectuals and the Iranian reform movement – early modern Baha'i schools for girls did not begin to open until almost a decade after those for boys: Madrasah-yi Dukhtaranih-yi Mauhibat in 1909 in Hamadan, Madrasah-yi Tavakkul-i Banat in 1909 in Qazvin, and Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banat in 1911 in Tehran.³⁸ The opening of the latter school was achieved mainly through the endeavours of the Baha'i community in the USA, who in 1909 founded the Persian-American Educational Society specifically to assist the Baha'i schools in Iran.³⁹

The delay and the relatively slower progress in opening Baha'i schools for girls was partly due to the strong traditional values in Iranian society at the time. Also, the cultural clash between Iranian Baha'i men (such as Dr Muhammad Khan Munajjim, Dr 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish, Dr Arastu Khan Hakim, and a few others who sat on the Tarbiyat Schools' Committee) and American Baha'i women (including Dr Susan Moody, Dr Sarah Clock, Miss Elizabeth Stewart and Miss Lillian Kappes, who were involved in running the Tarbiyat-i Banat), did not help the situation. As Miss 'Isirat Midhat, one of the teachers at the Tarbiyat-i Banat School, wrote:

This new young manager [Miss Lillian Kappes] wanted to arrange the school in line with American schools and to be a model from every aspect, but the Tarbiyat Schools' Committee mostly opposed the plans of this young manager and blocked her novel ideas, and maybe the committee was right for the situation at the time was not ready for modernity [and change].⁴⁰

It seems therefore that at the turn of the century the majority of Iranian Baha'is, like most of their compatriots, were themselves not quite ready for such radical changes, especially in matters relating to *namus* (chastity of the female sex). It could be that part of the Baha'i community in Iran was ready for such change but still thought that they should follow the general pace of modern education for girls in the country in order not to endanger what had already been achieved.

In the places where they were established, Baha'i girls' schools were usually the first, or among the first, girls' schools to open, and this by itself attracted even harsher opposition. For example, the Tavakkul Girls' School in Qazvin, which opened in 1909, was the first girls' school in that town, and it immediately faced strong opposition. A

local mob was incited by some clerics to attack the building and destroy it. As a result, the school was forced to change its location several times. However, it was in the end not the local opposition that caused the school to close; rather, it was the invasion of Russian troops into that area at the beginning of the First World War. This invasion caused such disorder and disruption of security that the school closed temporarily, and though it later resumed its operations, it closed permanently in December 1934, along with most other Baha'i schools.⁴¹ The first Baha'i girls' school in Abadih (founded in 1908) was also opposed by the local 'ulama'. In 1913, they seized the opportunity of the visit of Haji Mukhbir al-Saltanih, the newly appointed governor of Fars province, and complained to him about the school, claiming that its existence was against the *shari'a* (religious law). Mukhbir al-Saltanih summoned Haji 'Ali Khan, the founder of the school, and told him that he had decided to close the school, not on religious grounds, but rather because it was inappropriate to have a girls' school in Abadih when there was no such school in Shiraz, the provincial capital.⁴² Apparently Mukhbir al-Saltanih was more concerned with his own prestige and image than with the wishes of the 'ulama', although those wishes were met by his decision after all.

Again, when the Tarbiyat Baha'i Girls' School – the first such school in Yazd – opened its doors in 1919–20, it was attacked by the local 'ulama', who assailed the school and its founder from their *minbars* (pulpits), crying that 'girls should not take pen in hand; God's throne is shaken [by witnessing girls attending schools].'⁴³

Anti-Baha'i sentiment was usually stronger and much more vocal in minor towns and villages, where the Baha'is were even less protected than their urban co-religionists, although one could find exceptions. In Aran, for example, Muslims preferred to contain their anti-Baha'i feelings because the financial situation of the local Baha'i community was very healthy; this, in turn, won the Baha'is influence as well as respect. For example, many local Muslim traders (probably in carpets) in Aran were dependent on the money and equipment of local Baha'i carpet dealers. It was such dependence that prevented animosity towards the Baha'is from breaking out into violence.⁴⁴

There was a similar case in Ayval, one of the villages around Sari (in Mazandaran province), where in 1923–4 Sardar Jalil, a local Baha'i landlord, managed to lease the entire village for a period of five years. This gave him (and the local Baha'i community) such influence that he was able to appoint a Baha'i *kadkbuda* (head of the village) and to found a Baha'i school, in spite of the opposition of influential local clerics such as Haji Sayyid Shafi 'Ara'i and Shaykh 'Ali-Asghar Vulu'i. These two failed to enlist the assistance of the local governor against the opening of the Baha'i school, due mainly to the fact that the governor was himself impressed by the educational work of the local Baha'is.⁴⁵ The very same Sardar Jalil also succeeded in foiling an anti-Baha'i plot in Babul (formerly Barfurush): on hearing that Asif al-Sultan, the local governor, was conspiring with Asif Humayun, the head of the local *nazmiyyih* (police), to kill Mirza Mustafa Khan Nuri (one of the founders of the two Baha'i schools), as well as some Baha'i merchants in town, Sardar Jalil immediately set out from Sari at the head of his own cavalry and managed to thwart the conspiracy.⁴⁶ Nuri, whose life had just been saved, hurried to help protect the lives of the local Baha'is with two armed men from the Babul branch of the Treasury.⁴⁷

Opposition to the Baha'i schools was also evident among the other religious minorities. It was mainly due either to educational jealousy and competition or to

religious antagonism. In Hamadan, where there was a large Jewish community alongside the Baha'í community, two of the female teachers of the Alliance (AIU) Jewish School complained to the local governor about the Ta'yid Baha'í School, accusing its staff of despising their Jewish counterparts and treating them with contempt. They demanded that the Baha'í staff should be punished, and the governor ordered Ta'yid to close for ten days, to remove its name-plaque and to write instead that this was being done because of disrespect towards the Alliance School.⁴⁸ This was an example of Jewish influence in Hamadan. The Baha'ís, however, refused to abide by the order and sent three representatives to Tehran to try to reverse it. They did indeed succeed, but only after six months of constant effort. In another case, also in Hamadan, a Baha'í student who studied at the local Jewish AIU School was punished for failing to attend school on a Baha'í holiday.⁴⁹

There is no doubt that competition and jealousy existed between the various foreign and minority schools in Iran, especially in large cities (such as Hamadan), where they operated at the same time and side by side, while trying to expand their student numbers. However, as in the particular case of Hamadan and the Alliance School, there was an additional dimension to the anti-Baha'í feeling and opposition to the Baha'í schools. Hamadan and Kashan were both major cities with large Jewish communities, many of whose members had converted to the Baha'í faith. This divided formerly Jewish families, or at least some of them, into Jewish and Baha'í wings, and there was often much animosity between them.⁵⁰ Still, at least some of this animosity existed before the conversions to the Baha'í faith took place and was not limited to matters concerning education.⁵¹

In general, therefore, anti-Baha'í sentiment was rife throughout Iran, under both the later Qajars and the early Pahlavis, and not only among Shi'í Muslims. However, while the state itself, under the Qajars, either joined in the persecution of the Baha'ís or did nothing to prevent it, a major change of policy was noticeable during the first Pahlavi monarch's reign, with the state providing protection to the Baha'ís as part of its more general policy of centralization, nationalism and establishing security and the rule of law throughout the country. Furthermore, while Babi/Baha'í life and property had been widely exposed to attack and pillage during the early stages of the religion (in the mid-nineteenth century), this phenomenon became less evident with the turn of the century. One major reason for this development seems to have been the fact that the Baha'í faith had by that time already spread throughout all classes of Iranian society, from top to bottom. It was mainly those Baha'ís at the top – high officials, intellectuals, landlords, merchants and even clerics – who managed increasingly to check the stream of anti-Baha'í plots.

A second reason could have been that by the end of the nineteenth century, the differences between Babis and Baha'ís were gradually becoming more evident to a growing number of people. From the evidence assembled here, it is quite possible to suppose that a third reason for the diminishing of anti-Baha'í acts in Iran, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, was the actual opening of Baha'í schools themselves and their high level of education, since these schools provided an important asset that was needed not only by the state, but also by a growing number of people from all layers of the society – this was modern education. Even so, the relative improvement in the lives

of the Baha'is could last only as long as the modernizing Pahlavi state felt that it needed the Baha'i schools, or for as long as it regarded the Baha'is as loyal and law-abiding citizens. It came to an end when the state believed that one or the other – or both – of these elements no longer existed.

The dozens of Baha'i schools that opened and functioned throughout Iran between 1899 and 1934 attracted much opposition and resentment during their operation. The strongest opposition seems to have been religiously motivated, and came from the conservative elements in the society, headed by the 'ulama'. Their opposition stemmed from the fact that they viewed the Baha'is and their faith as challenging the very essence of Islam, for the Baha'is believed in and promoted ideas (such as social reform, modernization and equality) that were innovative and therefore totally unacceptable to the conservative 'ulama'. Thus, opposition to the Baha'i schools was, for them, one aspect of their general opposition to the Baha'is, their faith and their institutions.

Yet, as part of the modern schools introduced into Iran, the Baha'i schools also threatened the source of income of many clerics as teachers. There were other venues for acquiring a modern education, but the Baha'i schools were more successful in attracting a larger number of Muslims than were the foreign and other religious minority schools. This was partly due to the fact that Baha'is were more assimilated into Iranian society, with representation in all sectors and levels of that society. Furthermore, the reformist and modern character of their faith had made these schools more acceptable to the more liberal, secular and educated classes. In addition, the absence of Baha'i religious instruction from the curriculum of the Baha'i schools (since religion was taught separately to Baha'i children at the *dars-i akhlaq* classes on Fridays) strengthened the schools' image as liberal, secular and modern. It was this success that inflamed not only the bigotry of the conservative Shi'is, but also the jealousy of the foreign and other religious minority schools in Iran.

CLOSING THE DOORS: RIZA SHAH PAHLAVI AND THE CLOSURE OF THE BAHA'I SCHOOLS IN IRAN

INTRODUCTION

During the period of the later Qajar shahs, namely Muzaffar al-Din (r. 1896–1907), Muhammad-'Ali (r. 1907–9) and Ahmad (r. 1909–25), the Iranian state became steadily weaker and sank into anarchy as a result of years of revolution, war, corruption, injustice, insecurity, and foreign intervention and occupation, all of which took a heavy toll on the local population. The country was thoroughly disappointed with the outcome of its hard-won freedom, the incompetence of successive cabinets, the inefficiency of the shahs, and the corruption of the bureaucracy. The continuous interference of foreign powers in Iran's affairs, especially Britain and Russia, combined with their excessive consular rights (as exemplified in the 1907, 1915 and 1919 Agreements) were a constant source of national humiliation and impotent dissension, which by 1921 had turned into loud, nationalistic protests throughout the country.

The people looked for a strong government that would overcome these weaknesses, and it seemed to many that the only route to such a government would be through the leadership of a strongman. It appeared by 1921 that this strongman might be Riza Khan Savadkuhi (later Riza Shah Pahlavi), and indeed within four years he rose from the rank of colonel in the Iranian Cossack Brigade to the Iranian throne. He achieved this feat through an impressive record, beginning with his appointment as commander of the Cossack Brigade (late 1920), a coup d'état (February 1921), appointment as commander of the army (1921) and as prime minister (1923), and his overthrow of the ruling dynasty, the Qajars (in late 1925). In between, as was expected of him by almost all social sectors in Iran as well as by the European powers most involved in the country (namely Britain and Russia/USSR), he managed to create a strong central government and establish internal security; for this he enjoyed the support of all.¹

Moved by a strong sense of nationalism and a profound desire to improve the conditions of his poor, backward and disorderly country, he envisioned the future of Iran as a modern state, with a modern economy and industry, with European/Western societies

as his eventual model, and neighbouring Turkey as his immediate exemplar. Accordingly, he set out, with great determination, to introduce reforms in various fields – such as the military, administration, education and the judicial system. His forceful personality, military experience and authoritarian temperament dictated the way in which he approached introducing and implementing those reforms.

One of the most important areas of reform was education. Despite the reformist measures already taken during the later Qajar period, by 1921 the educational system still remained to a large extent under the control of the Shi'i clergy and attached to traditional curricula. Realizing the need for drastic reform of the school system and educational institutions if the state was to become modernized and secularized, Riza Shah began to introduce extensive educational changes even before he ascended the throne, and he continued these measures more forcefully afterwards. These educational reforms, which he regarded as the foundation for a modern, nationalist and more secular generation that would lead the country once again to greatness, were also seen by him as the most effective means to reduce, and gradually to end, the power of the Shi'i clerics in Iran in general, and their grip on the educational system in particular. Other measures which also threatened to erode the dominant position of the clerics included the introduction of the provisions of the Code Napoléon, new modes of dress, the introduction of the solar calendar, and a special endowments law aimed at bringing the clergy's vast economic preserves under the control of the state.²

At first, many social groups supported the guiding principles and reformist measures instituted by Riza Shah, but his autocratic rule and growing dictatorship meant that many former supporters gradually began to oppose him. The Baha'is constituted one of the social groups that supported Riza Shah; although they supported democratic rule and naturally opposed dictatorship, the shah's reformist measures went hand in hand with their belief in renewal, change, reform and modernization – and especially in education, as a central theme in the Baha'i faith. Furthermore, as a religious minority with no official status, under continuous persecution from the very beginning, Baha'is were (in relative terms) much better off under the rule of an anticlerical, modernizing and secular shah who wished to place all citizens on one level before a strong centralized state.³ These seemed to be ample reasons for the Baha'is (as well as the other religious minorities) to have supported Riza Shah, not to mention the fact that obedience to the state was another of the Baha'is' basic beliefs.

How was it then that in December 1934 the Baha'i schools came to be closed under such a ruler? What reasons did Riza Shah have to close these schools, which represented some of the most modern educational institutions in Iran? And why did the Baha'is provide the state with the excuse to close the Baha'i schools?

THE BAHAI SCHOOLS AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR CLOSURE

According to Order no. 42521–831 dated Saturday 8 December 1934, from Prime Minister Muhammad-'Ali Furughi Zuka' al-Mulk (1877–1942) to Acting Minister of Education 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat (1893–1980), for the closure of the two Tarbiyat Schools and a number of other Baha'i schools, the Pahlavi state gave as the official reason the fact that the Baha'is had shut some of their schools two days earlier, on a date that was not an

official state-declared holiday.⁴ Hikmat immediately issued the order, in which it was said that the Tarbiyat-i Banin School had closed on 6 December 1934 ‘without any reason’, and ‘contrary to the Schools’ Book of Regulations from 1308 [1929–30] and article 83 of the Book of Regulations dated 26–8–1313 [17 November 1934].’ Since this constituted ‘disobedience to the regulations . . . therefore, the Ministry of Education nullifies the concession of that school.’⁵ This pronouncement was soon followed by orders sent to other localities for the closure of other Baha’i schools that had been shut on the above-mentioned date.

Indeed 6 December 1934 was not a national holiday; it was in fact the day that commemorated the martyrdom of the Bab and was one of the nine Baha’i annual holidays (collectively called *Ayyam-i Mubarramih*) which had been strictly observed as a religious duty by all Baha’is in Iran (and elsewhere) even before 1934.⁶

To execute the order, local officials of the Ministry of Education, accompanied by policemen, were sent to the different Baha’i schools. They pulled down the name-plaques of the schools, ordered the students and the staff to leave, and guarded the premises for several days to prevent entry, causing much grief on the part of the Baha’i students, staff and community.⁷ The closure of the Baha’i schools also saddened many Muslims and other non-Baha’is who attended the schools, and even some state officials. For example, as well as the Baha’i pupils, the Muslim and other non-Baha’i students of the Tarbiyat Girls’, and the Taufiq Boys’, Schools in Yazd, also wept when notified of the permanent closure of their schools.⁸ The head of the Yazd police, who came to carry out the prime ministerial order (and whose own daughters studied at the school), did so very unwillingly and was so upset that he asked Hajiyiyih Khanum, the school’s headmistress, to order the removal of the school’s name-plaque, rather than issuing the order himself.⁹ Sultan Husayn Khan, head of Tehran’s Police Precinct 1, whose son was studying at Tarbiyat, was also bewildered by the order.¹⁰ In Hamadan, Shaykh Musa Nasri, who headed the local branch of the Ministry of Education, was so upset when he received the order to close the Ta’iyid School that he said sarcastically: ‘They have closed the school and opened the stables.’¹¹

The closure of Tarbiyat was such a major event that many people from various backgrounds attempted to guess the real reason behind it. For example, Narguess, Sattareh Farman Farmaian’s nursemaid, who had been living in the family’s compound close to Tarbiyat (and to Riza Shah’s palace), had her own explanation as to why Riza Shah had ordered the school to close: ‘[T]he king must have closed . . . [the] school because the noise the Bahais made when they prayed offended even his wicked ears.’¹² As for Sattareh herself, who did not understand ‘how anyone could hate’ the beautiful Baha’i prayers chanted every day at Tarbiyat, she thought that the true reason was connected more to Riza Shah’s character and policies:

The Shah, who was a demon for work, never took a day off, and since no one was allowed to take a holiday unless he did, too, he had decided to give the offenders a permanent holiday . . . it sounded just like Reza Shah . . . Actually, Reza Shah hadn’t closed Tarbiyat because the Bahais had taken the day off, nor even, probably, because he particularly disliked the Bahais. The king was simply hell-bent on remaking Iran in the image of an advanced nation, and part of his notion of how to do this was to reduce the influence of religion in our country – all religion.¹³

Contemporary Baha'is took the view that the official reason was merely an excuse, and believed that it was the last in a series of earlier excuses to close their schools. For example, on one occasion, an inspector from the Ministry of Education had asked to see the text of the Baha'i prayers and hymns usually sung in the school during the morning gatherings and, having looked at them, prohibited them from being used at all, knowing that failure to abide by this directive would provide the government with an excuse to close the schools. Another excuse was the accusation that Baha'i schools did not teach the Qur'an correctly, a claim that 'Ali-Akbar Furutan, the manager of the Tarbiyat School, regarded as a straightforward lie, and which he managed to refute by stating that Baha'is did accept the Qur'an and therefore had no reason to twist its content. Convinced that the government was searching for an excuse to close the Baha'i schools, the National Spiritual Assembly (NSA) (Mahfil-i Rauhani-yi Milli) of Iran (which had been founded earlier in 1934 and represented the Baha'is in Iran) asked the schools to endeavour not to provide any excuse that would arouse such a reaction on the part of the government.¹⁴ It was obvious to the Baha'is that the government was trying to find a pretext to close their schools, either because of Baha'i disobedience to directives and regulations or for showing disrespect towards the Muslim religion.¹⁵

Whatever the case, a number of foreigners, while criticizing the official excuse, became worried about its possible consequences. On receiving the report of the British minister in Tehran, H. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, at the Foreign Office in London, A. E. Lambert, a Foreign Office official, wrote: 'The Persians did not choose a very good excuse for the closing of the schools, but perhaps they could find no other.'¹⁶ In the view of G. W. Rendel (a counsellor at the Eastern Department of the British Foreign Office) this was 'typically Persian',¹⁷ but Lambert, at any rate, shared the fears of Knatchbull-Hugessen that this development might result in 'possible attacks on English-speaking educational authorities' as well.¹⁸

American officials were mainly concerned with the two Tarbiyat Schools in Tehran where American Baha'is formed part of the teaching staff. Upon receiving the news of the closure, Cordell Hull, the American secretary of state, enquired of William H. Hornibrook, the American minister to Tehran, as to the reason for the closure and whether it was of 'temporary or permanent character.'¹⁹ Hornibrook could only provide the official reason, adding that 'closing [is] presumably permanent.'²⁰

Given the fact that Baha'i schools had been accustomed to close on their holidays in previous years,²¹ one wonders what really lay behind the decision to shut them down, and why that was done in 1934 and not before? It seems that the answer to these questions should be sought in local, regional and international events, especially those of 1933–4, as well as in Riza Shah's own character and policies.

First, the Baha'is had apparently disregarded official warnings for not following state regulations regarding this issue on at least two occasions previously. According to Knatchbull-Hugessen, the Tarbiyat Schools in Tehran had also closed on the anniversary of the Bab's martyrdom the year before, on 17 December 1933. A few days later, the Ministry of Education asked the school's Board of Directors to submit in writing the reason for keeping the school closed on that day. This was done, but the Ministry rejected the letter and its contents. In May 1934 the Ministry again brought up the issue of the December 1933 closure and warned the Board of Directors that if the same thing were to happen again in 1934, the schools would be definitely closed down.²²

The second warning came just a short time before the final closure. In Sha‘ban 1353 (November–December 1934), just one day after one of the Islamic religious holidays, Hikmat was asked to appear before Riza Shah in his Marble Palace on Kakh Avenue. Riza Shah wished to know ‘what is this school adjacent to my home and why was this school open yesterday, which was a [national] holiday [probably 15 Sha‘ban, celebrating the birth of the Twelfth Shi‘i Imam, the *Imam-i Qa‘im*], and the students raising tumult and brawling?’²³ Hikmat explained: ‘This is the Tarbiyat Girls’ School and the reason for its being open is that the school’s authorities have their own calendar and holidays, which do not correspond with those of other [elementary] schools and high schools.’ The shah then asked with surprise and indignation: ‘What does it mean? Don’t they follow the official programme of the Ministry of Education?’ Hikmat explained: ‘The Baha‘i community has a special calendar, which contains special holidays and they carry out their own programme.’ Riza Shah then said: ‘Warn them that they should behave in line with the official and general programme of the state and if they will not concur, close that school,’ asking with anger and astonishment: ‘Why should they be different from other schools? You should immediately warn [them] and make it public. If they will not obey, close those schools.’²⁴

A similar account of a different case, but with the very same outcome, is provided by Sulaiman Bihbudi, who was special secretary to Riza Khan when he was commander of the Army, and was later head of ceremonies at Riza Shah’s royal court and in charge of the royal buildings and premises. Bihbudi refers in his memoirs to the closure of the Tarbiyat School. According to him, Riza Shah’s study was on the eastern side of Kakh Avenue, while the Tarbiyat School, housed in a rented building, was on the opposite, western, side of the street. Thus, Riza Shah could hear what went on in the Tarbiyat School from his office. As Bihbudi states:

When the school bell rang for recess, the children got out of the classes and played in the school’s playground causing [much] noise. This grew into a habit for His Imperial Majesty and on those days when [the school was] closed and there was no noise, he was really upset. Accidentally on a certain day when no noise was heard from the children, he summoned me and said: What day is it today? When I explained which day was it, he became upset about the noise of the children not being heard, later he said: go to the school and see why there is no noise to be heard. When I went I saw the *farrash* [caretaker] sitting on a stool in front of the school gate. I asked him [and] it became clear that the school was closed due to the death of a certain person. I reported to His Imperial Majesty. He became extremely upset and furiously called ‘Ali-Asghar Hikmat the minister of education to appear before him and called him to account for why a school was closed because someone had died, and said: there should be one country, one education and one programme; distribute the students among the other [non-Baha‘i] schools and (then) shut the school down, I have closed the foreign schools which became places for propaganda [and] now they prepare a separate programme behind my back! The issue was that the school was connected to a special sect and the deceased person was one of the heads of that sect.²⁵

The testimonies of Hikmat and Bihbudi support the claim that it was the actions of the

management of the Tarbiyat Schools in opening and closing the school according to their own programme, that enraged Riza Shah. From the latter's point of view, such actions and decisions proved the nonconformism and independence of the Baha'is, and this was unacceptable in the unitarian state Riza Shah wished to create in Iran.

This business of acting differently from state regulations and ignoring specific warnings raises the question of why the Baha'is acted as they did. Why did Shoghi Effendi (1897–1957), the Guardian of the Baha'i community worldwide (1921–57), order all Baha'is to close all independent Baha'i institutions, schools included, and abstain from any work during the Baha'i holidays and observe them most strictly?²⁶ Was he not aware of the risks involved in taking such a decision, especially for the Baha'is in Iran, or did he made his decision in spite of the risks? The following versions, one provided by a high-ranking Iranian official, and the other by one of the leaders of the Baha'i community in Iran, shed important light on the way this affair was seen on both sides.

The non-Bahai version was provided by none other than the contemporary Iranian minister of foreign affairs, Baqir Kazimi (Muhazzib al-Daulih). In light of the growing protests against the closure of the schools and the appeals for their reopening (made mainly by Baha'is abroad to Iranian diplomatic representatives), Kazimi issued a circular that was sent to Iranian diplomats around the world, aimed at providing them with the necessary information to respond to the allegations and to explain the closure of the Baha'i schools, and thus prevent false information from being published in the media.²⁷ The circular accused the Baha'is outside Iran of spreading false claims and those in Iran for believing them. It read as follows:

Some prejudiced and selfish people [i.e., the Baha'is in the USA and in other countries] have created such an image among the Baha'is of Iran, who are generally ignorant and illiterate, that all the Americans have become Baha'is, and that the US government, and maybe all the other governments, support all the Baha'is, and would not allow the government of Iran to take any measure against the Baha'is, and this very group has turned the ignorant Baha'is of Iran into conceited people who believe that whatever action of theirs which would be exposed, would be tolerated by the Iranian government due its fear of the American government and they do not know that no government, the American and the others included, can interfere, under any circumstances, in the domestic affairs of Iran; and likewise, the Iranian government does not wish to bother anyone due to religious beliefs. But, on the one hand, it also cannot accept that a community would act contrary to the state's rules and regulations; on the other hand, the needs of the people of the country could not be sacrificed for the views of a minority community. Compared to other religions, the Baha'is in Iran are not even one in a thousand; in spite of this they wish to oppose the country's public religion. In such a case, how can the Iranian government tolerate such a thing? There are also other religions in Iran that no one minds because they have no enmity towards the official religion of the country. The Baha'is must also pursue the same method and look and see that, in spite of the fact that the majority population of all the big and small governments in the world are Christian, have the Christians of Iran thrust their views on those governments and opposed Islam? Therefore, the purpose is this, that the American

Baha'is or Baha'is of other places, instead of addressing the Iranian government should advise the Baha'is of Iran to observe their own country's circumstances.²⁸

The accusations of Kazimi, who was probably voicing the official position of Riza Shah and his government, were probably due to the role that the Americans were playing in Iran as well as the very close links between the growing American Baha'i community and their co-religionists in Iran. These links were strengthened by the despatch of a number of Iranian Baha'is to study in America, and even more significantly by the arrival in Iran of a number of skilled Americans who assisted the Baha'is in setting up schools and hospitals. These came to be among the finest in the country and a source of great envy to the Muslims.

Matters reached such a state that any American in Iran was automatically assumed by the populace to be a Baha'i.²⁹ For example, in his memoirs of his seven months of service (from May to November 1911) at the head of an American delegation hired by the Iranian Constitutional government to ameliorate Iran's financial predicament, Morgan Shuster wrote that 'it was not until several weeks afterwards that the rumour began to reach me that the Americans were believed to be *Baha'is*, and that we had come to Teheran, not to reform but to proselytize.'³⁰ It was this image of the Americans in the eyes of the Iranian populace that stood also behind the murder of Major Robert Imbrie, the American vice-consul in Tehran. On 18 July 1924, when Imbrie arrived at a wayside fountain near Tehran, the site of a supposed miracle, the mob murdered him because, as an American, he was assumed to be a Baha'i.³¹

The Baha'i explanation of why the Baha'is closed their schools on a day not declared by the state as an official holiday was provided by 'Ali-Akbar Furutan. It was clear to Furutan, and probably to many other Baha'is, that if Shoghi Effendi's order to close the Baha'i institutions (schools included) was to be carried out, it would no doubt provide the Iranian government with the necessary excuse to close all Baha'i schools. An official warning from Riza Shah himself through Hikmat had just been given to them. Furutan therefore appealed to the NSA, and they telegraphed Shoghi Effendi, putting before him the possible negative implications for the future of the Baha'i schools. Time was pressing as the 28th of Sha'ban, the anniversary of the martyrdom of the Bab, was approaching. So difficult to accept was Shoghi Effendi's decision, that the Iranian NSA told Furutan that if the Guardian's reply to their appeal should not arrive in time, then Furutan should keep his school (namely, Tarbiyat) open.³²

Shoghi Effendi's reply finally came in time, through Baghdad, and although it specifically addressed Tarbiyat, he was actually applying his decision to all the Baha'i schools in Iran: 'In relation to the [Tarbiyat] school, you should strictly follow my order. The school has to be closed on this day. All should know that this school belongs to the Baha'i community.'³³ Evidently Shoghi Effendi believed that if other religious communities were allowed to celebrate their own feasts, enjoying religious freedom, then the Baha'is had the right to do the same.³⁴ In giving this order to the Baha'is, he was apparently confronting an awkward situation which he found unjust towards the Baha'is, while feeling also that the time was ripe for the Iranian Baha'is, who constituted the largest non-Muslim religious community in the country, to demand their right to full religious freedom and to seek public recognition of the independent nature of their

faith.³⁵ The Iranian state's approval in 1933 of the act that permitted the recognized non-Muslim religious minorities to practise their own laws in matters related to personal status, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance,³⁶ may have been a catalyst in Shoghi Effendi's decision to instruct the Baha'is to perform Baha'i marriage ceremonies and attempt to register their marriages,³⁷ and may have been a factor contributing to his instructions to them to keep the Baha'i schools closed on Baha'i holidays as well. Reiterating 'Abdu'l-Baha's strict instructions to the Baha'is to refrain from 'any measure of interference in government affairs' and 'to manifest obedience and submissiveness to their respective governments and to demonstrate loyalty and goodwill towards the authorities', Shoghi Effendi also made it clear that 'in matters of conscience that vitally affect the integrity of the Cause of God, interfere with the fundamental principles of Baha'i belief and are tantamount to recantation, repudiation or dissimulation of their faith', the Baha'is should 'lay down their lives as martyrs rather than comply with such orders.'³⁸

On hearing the news, Hikmat advised Furutan not to close the schools. 'The country is Islamic,' he said, 'don't close apart from the official Islamic holidays . . . You don't have the right to close except on official holidays.'³⁹ Since the Baha'is were not officially recognized by the state (and were therefore not granted special rights), Hikmat believed that they should follow the regulations pertaining to the Muslim population.

But the thinking behind Shoghi Effendi's order became so reasonable for Furutan that he turned from questioning it into giving it his wholehearted support. When asked by the head of Tehran's Police Precinct 1, Sultan Husayn Khan (whose son studied at Tarbiyat), who had now been instructed to close the school, about the reason behind the order, Furutan said:

Thursday was the day of the martyrdom of Hazrat-i A'la [the Bab] . . . This is our school. We are Baha'is. Are we expected not to close the school on such a day? What do you do on 'Ashura? Don't you close the school? . . . In administrative matters we obey the government. But in matters of conscience, if you draw a sword and ask me to deny my being a Baha'i, I'll accept the sword.⁴⁰

The truth is that the Baha'is observed all the state's official holidays and closed their schools during them. Moreover, they respected the religious feelings of their Muslim students and their families, and closed the schools, especially those such as Tarbiyat with a considerable number of Muslim students,⁴¹ on Muslim holidays as well. This was not only out of consideration for the religious feelings of the Muslim students, but also because the absence of such a great number of students made it impossible to keep the schools open. Furthermore, it was also vital to keep these schools closed for the safety of the Baha'i community itself, especially during Shi'i religious holidays and processions such as 'Ashura and Ta'ziya. On the other hand, the fact that at least half the students and the great majority of the teaching and administrative staff were Baha'is made it impossible for them not to respect their own religious holidays; they therefore had to close the schools during these times as well.

Baha'is repeatedly proved themselves to be loyal and law-abiding citizens of the state, and this was in line with their religious beliefs. For example, as mentioned earlier, the

Baha'i schools followed the programme of the Ministry of Education. Moreover, before the new dress code was introduced (in 1936), female Baha'is wore the *chadur* (veil) outside their home, and female Baha'i students attended school and exams wearing the *chadur*.⁴² Although wearing a *chadur* may seem contrary to the Baha'i support for female emancipation, the fact is that while Baha'u'llah abrogated former traditional restrictions and practices related to dress, leaving such decisions to the individual, he nevertheless instructed the Baha'i believers to observe propriety and moderation in all such matters.⁴³ In 'Abdu'l-Baha's view, discarding the veil in an Islamic country like Iran could bring on needless persecution in an already volatile situation. He therefore pleaded with Baha'i women to be careful and not to do anything which was 'contrary to wisdom'. He believed in the gradual emancipation of women as a process, the first stage of which was to be in the field of education, but there was no doubt in his mind that full equality between men and women would be ultimately achieved.⁴⁴ Both Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha were of course fully aware of the dangers and risks involved in introducing changes in the status of women, and even Baha'i women, in traditional societies such as the one that existed in Iran at that time. They were also keenly aware of the precarious situation of the Baha'is and did not wish to make it worse by openly challenging the existing norms. But when the state (namely, the first Pahlavi state) embarked on a programme of reform, modernization and radical changes, including in the status of women, and decided to promote unveiling, Baha'i girls and women were among the first to appear unveiled in public.⁴⁵ It was only in matters strictly related to their beliefs that the Baha'is believed they should have full religious freedom.

Compared to other religious minorities in Iran, the Baha'is lived under much harsher conditions, for they were the only religious minority that was neither officially recognized nor given freedom of worship.⁴⁶ For more than three decades the Baha'i schools were tolerated by the state, probably because they were desperately needed to meet the needs of a modernizing nation. In addition, subsequent weak central governments under the Qajars made enforcing state rules and regulations more difficult, and disobedience to them easier. But Riza Shah succeeded in creating a strong central government, which – with its monopolistic control and power – managed to execute its laws and regulations in all spheres of life. In the eyes of Riza Shah, his policy of *vahdat-i milli* (national unity) meant conformity with the state's rules, laws and regulations, regardless of whether they were considered by some to be unjust.⁴⁷

Education was indeed central to this policy, and this might have been one major reason for allowing the Baha'is and other local minorities and foreign religious and secular organizations to continue to operate schools under his rule. But for someone like Riza Shah, who had grown up in a family of military officers and who had served most of his life in the army, maintaining discipline and obeying orders was probably of extreme importance, as well as a precondition for his interpretation of national unity and conformity.⁴⁸ Therefore, he found it intolerable when the Baha'is did not heed his warnings, and failure to punish them would have set a bad example to other groups – religious or ethnic – as well as to the general population, and threaten the implementation of his own policies. It therefore seems quite possible that Riza Shah's decision to close the Baha'i schools was not taken out of any anti-Baha'i religious feeling. If he

had been anti-Baha'i, it is likely that repressive measures would have been implemented immediately after his accession to the throne, in similar fashion to the measures he had taken against the Shi'i clerical establishment.

Instead, Baha'is were permitted to maintain their schools and other institutions (at least up to December 1934), and in fact the number of Baha'i localities grew under Riza Shah's reign from 346, arranged in 17 Baha'i administrative divisions, in 1927–8,⁴⁹ to 440 in 20 Baha'i administrative divisions in 1933–4.⁵⁰ The number continued to grow following the closure of the Baha'i schools in 1934, reaching 560 localities in 20 Baha'i administrative divisions, in 1935–6,⁵¹ and 694 in 22 Baha'i administrative divisions from 1940 to 1944.⁵² During his reign, anti-Baha'i outbreaks were, generally speaking, greatly reduced in number and violence and, with few exceptions, Baha'is were left alone by Riza Shah; indeed, had he done otherwise he would have been obliged to concede that the mullas had influenced his policies.⁵³ Nevertheless, the shah's attitude might have either coincided with, or been taken advantage of by, certain anti-Baha'i elements within the government, who had been looking for excuses to close the Baha'i schools.

A second probable reason, closely related to the first, behind the decision to close the schools and the timing of this move, may have been connected with an important development in the evolution of the Baha'i community of Iran, namely the election of the Baha'i NSA in 1934. In preparation for the election, the country was divided into 22 districts. On 26 April 1934 the Baha'is held their first national convention in Tehran, and over a period of eight days the first NSA was elected, with its seat in Tehran.⁵⁴ On Shoghi Effendi's instructions, the social and religious affairs of the national community of the Baha'is of Iran, which prior to 1934 had been directed by the former Central Assembly of Tehran (founded in 1897), were now transferred to the new body. The by-laws of the Iranian NSA were the Persian translation of those of the American NSA, with certain modifications. In addition, national committees were appointed to help the NSA with specific tasks.⁵⁵ According to 'Ali-Akbar Furutan, who became manager of *Tarbiyat* in 1934, the closure of the school may well have been linked to the formation of this new Baha'i institution.⁵⁶

The establishment of the NSA in Iran, as elsewhere, was part of a new stage in the institutional development of the Baha'i community after the death of 'Abdu'l-Baha in 1921. The responsibility for the administration of the Baha'i community was gradually shifted from individuals to elected institutions. Prominent Baha'i figures began to work in collaboration with Baha'i institutions, and the propagational activities of influential Baha'i individuals came under the support and direction of Baha'i elective institutions.⁵⁷ This Baha'i institutionalization in Iran was a gradual process, moving from individuals to local spiritual assemblies (LSAs), the first of which, as mentioned above, was established in Tehran in 1897, then to regional conventions (the first being held in Azerbaijan in 1923),⁵⁸ and finally to the NSA in 1934. The launch in 1922 of *Akbbār-i Amri* (Baha'i News), the first national Baha'i newsletter, could also be regarded as another stage in this process. Not only were these milestones in the institutionalization of the Baha'i community in Iran; they were also a vivid expression of the democratic process within the largest religious community in a country that lacked such a process itself. This institutionalization also helped to further distinguish the Baha'i community from the wider society, and influenced the formation of a distinct Baha'i identity. These factors not

only attracted the attention of Riza Shah, who wished to promote only one kind of identity (the Iranian/pre-Islamic identity),⁵⁹ but probably also made him more alert to warnings against his Baha'i subjects.

The more favourable contemporary circumstances for Baha'is under the first Pahlavi,⁶⁰ combined with the new developments noted above, could have led Shoghi Effendi to take a strategic and daring decision, especially in the belief that if other main religious communities were allowed to celebrate their own holidays, and enjoy full religious freedom, then the Baha'is had the right to do the same.⁶¹ An important factor in his decision was the status of Baha'is throughout the Islamic countries. As believers in a post-Qur'anic revelation, the Baha'is are not recognized by Islamic jurisprudence as *Ahl al-Kitab* (People of the Book), for their prophet, Baha'u'llah, appeared much later than the Prophet Muhammad who is regarded by Muslims as *Khatim al-Anbiya'* (Seal of the Prophets). After Iran's 'ulama', the second most repressive clerical group, from the Baha'i point of view, would seem to have been that of al-Azhar in Cairo, probably the most respected Islamic religious studies establishment within the Sunni Muslim world. Their power and their hostility had created many problems for Baha'i communities through the Islamic world. For example, in 1925 the Shar'i Court in Egypt ruled that since Baha'is were heretics and since Islamic law asserts that the marriage relationship cannot be entered into or maintained by heretics, then marriages involving Baha'is could not be legally recognized.⁶² However, commenting further on this ruling, Shoghi Effendi observed that, in the text of the decision, the Court had actually expressed its belief that

the Baha'i Faith is a 'new religion', 'entirely independent', and by reason of the magnitude of its claim and the character of its 'laws, principles and beliefs', worthy to be reckoned as one of the established religious systems of the world . . . henceforth it shall be regarded as impossible for the followers of such a Faith to be designated as Muslim, just as it would be incorrect and erroneous to call a Muhammadan either Christian or Jew.⁶³

Shoghi Effendi, who had been following Baha'i-related developments in the Islamic world, seems to have decided to issue his decree to close Baha'i institutions (schools included) in observance of Baha'i holidays as part of a strategic policy aimed at consolidating the Baha'i faith as an independent religion that should be viewed and respected in the same way as the other monotheistic religions. In ordering the Baha'is to close their schools on Baha'i holidays, he was actually confronting an awkward situation which he found unfair to the Baha'is. He evidently felt that the time was ripe for Iranian Baha'is to demand their right to religious freedom and ultimately official recognition. Riza Shah, in turn, might well have regarded the increasing Baha'i institutionalization and the decisions taken by Baha'i leaders (e.g., concerning the closure of Baha'i institutions, including schools, on Baha'i holidays) as a challenge to the state and to his centralist policy, thereby causing him to react first by closing down the schools, and later, by taking other anti-Baha'i measures.

Third, some Baha'is have mentioned the agitation of anti-Baha'i individuals, not only among the Shi'i clerics, Azalis, and others, but also within the highest echelons of the Pahlavi state, as one of the reasons for the closure of the Baha'i schools and other



FIGURE 10. Ceremony for granting certificates of excellence to students, Vahdat-i Bashart School, Kashan, 1930. © BWC.

subsequent anti-Baha'i measures. One of those people was Muhammad-'Ali Furughi Zuka' al-Mulk, who became prime minister in 1933.⁶⁴ Some foreign figures in Tehran, such as one of the staff members of the American College in Tehran, believed that Furughi was the real power behind the opposition to the Baha'is.⁶⁵ A Baha'i source also blames Furughi and others for gradually managing to turn Riza Shah – three of whose children had already attended Tarbiyat – against the Baha'is, on the basis of a claim that the Baha'i schools were the 'weapon' through which the Baha'is attempted to lead non-Baha'i students (and their families) into becoming like the Baha'is and even supporting their cause. Thus, this 'weapon' had to be taken from them, which meant that Baha'i schools had to be shut down.⁶⁶ There apparently were relations of mutual respect between Riza Shah and Furughi, and Riza Shah, who had a high regard for Furughi's knowledge and humility, consulted him frequently on various matters;⁶⁷ this meant that Furughi had some influence over the shah's decisions.

If some people believed that Furughi was the prime enemy of the Baha'is within the state system, then 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat was seen as almost as dangerous. Hikmat was a very educated man, whose endeavours for the advancement of education and culture in Iran, as well as the modernization and secularization of the country, were notable. If Hikmat had ordered the closure of the Baha'i schools unwillingly, then it could be that he was merely acting as an obedient minister under the powerful and authoritarian personality of Riza Shah. But if this was not the case, and Hikmat did indeed hold grudges against the Baha'is, as suspected by Baha'i scholars such as Rassekh and Ishraq-Khavari,⁶⁸ then this would mean that there were some important anti-Baha'i politicians in the upper echelons of Riza Shah's regime.

These claims, raised by a number of Baha'i scholars, also find support outside Baha'i circles. According to Ihsan Tabari, both Furughi and Hikmat were part of a group that also included a number of intellectuals, scholars and academics – e.g., Badi' al-Zaman Furuzanfar, Jalal al-Din Hama'i, Dr Qasim Ghani and Dr A'lam al-Daulih Thaqafi – who helped to revive Sufism, and especially '*irfan* (gnosis) and its study. Finding that Baha'i teachings (as well as certain ideas of Freemasonry) were opposed to some of the main ideas of '*irfan*,⁶⁹ they might therefore have adopted an anti-Baha'i attitude.

The accumulation of accusations by these and other influential anti-Baha'i figures and groups (such as the Azalis) in Iran, and especially in Tehran, could have been quite convincing for a suspicious man such as Riza Shah, and may have sounded more credible if they were coming from various sources and directions. Certainly the NSA believed that 'the ill-wishers and enemies of the Baha'i Faith have made intrigues against the Baha'is before His Majesty and accused them of being disobedient to the laws of the country and being careless about the interests of Iran and of lacking patriotic feelings towards their country . . .'⁷⁰

A fourth reason for closing the Baha'i schools could be that by 1934 the shah had grown suspicious of the Baha'is. If true, this could have been a by-product of Riza Shah's attitude towards alternative ideologies as well as his familiarity with certain tenets of the Baha'i faith, and especially those bearing ideas of universalism (such as a universal religion, universal education, the unity of the human race, an international tribunal, an international auxiliary language, and so on).⁷¹ In the 1920s and 1930s, communist and fascist activity in Iran was on the rise. Following numerous successful strikes during the

late 1920s, the government of Riza Shah brought the hammer down on those who adhered to any sort of *maram-i isbtiraki* ('collectivist' or 'socialist' ideology), and the first political prisoners in Qasr Prison were from the Iranian Communist Party. As a result of exile and imprisonment, the Communist Party, at least temporarily, almost ceased to exist in Iran, with the exception of a single cell-block in Qasr.⁷² Communist activity was revived in 1934 under the leadership of Taqi Arani, at a time when Iranian communist students in Germany were fleeing the Nazis.

It is therefore quite possible that Riza Shah was especially attentive to the 'warnings' against the Baha'is about their 'plans and schemes' in Iran because of his experience with competing ideologies such as communism and fascism, especially the former. He may have regarded the Baha'is in Iran as having an international and supranational ideology, doctrine or solidarity, with an agenda that was not bound by the borders of a single country (like communist and, to a lesser extent, fascist ideology), and whose final aim of universalism was contrary to his own agenda of creating a nation-state.⁷³

However, the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the USSR had decided, in late 1928, to liquidate the Baha'is and Baha'i activity within the borders of the USSR because of their 'anti-Soviet' and 'spying' character. It was decided by the party leadership that a useful means towards that end would be a smear campaign in the media (e.g., in the periodicals *Bezbozhnik* [The Godless] and *Izvestiia*) against the Baha'is.⁷⁴ This factor – combined with the open institutionalization of the Baha'is in Iran (through schools, *dars-i akhlaq* classes, the NSA, youth groups,⁷⁵ cemeteries,⁷⁶ financial foundations,⁷⁷ and other institutions); with their own Administrative Order⁷⁸ and their own publications;⁷⁹ and with their own leader (Shoghi Effendi), which meant that their supreme loyalty was to a person other than Riza Shah himself (and who even lived outside Iran) – might well have aroused the ruler's suspicions.⁸⁰ After all, an independent organization that even the Soviet Union found dangerous was being formed under his nose in Iran by Iranian subjects with foreign links, and this could have been unacceptable to him and his totalitarian regime. It was suspicions of this sort that persuaded Riza Shah to arrest even some of his most trusted people, such as his court minister, Abu al-Husayn Khan Taymurtash.

It is possible too that Riza Shah understood that the aims of education, seen through Baha'i eyes, were different from those seen through his own eyes. According to Baha'u'llah, 'The fear of God hath ever been the prime factor in the education of His creatures',⁸¹ and 'teach[ing children] the oneness of God and the laws of God . . . must precede all else.'⁸² The importance attached to the religious application of education might have disturbed the secular-minded Riza Shah.⁸³ After all, he had closed the traditional *maktabs* and replaced them with a secular state school system; but to allow the existence of other schools run by Baha'is (or Christians, for that matter) and which had a declared missionary agenda, might have been regarded by him as a form of threatening or even dangerous competition.

In December 1923, Shoghi Effendi wrote to the LSA of Tehran, saying that they

should exert all their powers to establish schools for the instruction of boys and girls in the things of the spirit, the fundamentals of teaching the [Baha'i] Faith, reading the Sacred Writings, learning the history of the Faith, the secular branches

of knowledge, the various arts and skills, and the different languages – so that Baha'i methods of instruction will become so widely known that children from every level of the society will seek to acquire divine teachings as well as secular knowledge in Baha'i schools, and thereby means for the promotion of the Cause of God will be provided.⁸⁴

And in May 1934 he said:

In these days when people are so sceptical about religion and look with so much contempt towards religious organizations and movements, there seems to be more need than ever for our young Baha'is to be well equipped intellectually, so that they may be in a position to present the Message in a befitting way, and in a manner that would convince every unbiased observer of the effectiveness and power of the Teachings.⁸⁵

Again, such views might have led Riza Shah to act decisively against the Baha'is, and especially against their educational programmes and schools. Riza Shah became aware that the loyalty of his Baha'i subjects derived from their religious belief, and that although loyalty to the civil authority was one of the tenets of their faith, it was also conditioned by that faith. From Riza Shah's point of view, this was contrary to his scale of loyalty, on which the Pahlavi monarchy, the Iranian state, and nationalism had to come before any other kind of loyalty. In regarding the Baha'is as not totally devoted and loyal to the state, he allowed suspicions to creep into his attitude towards them, and these were deepened, not only by the anti-Baha'i elements close to the shah, but also because of the influential positions held by Bahai's in Iran as well as elsewhere.

There were many Baha'is who held high positions in the Iranian civil and military administration as well as in the diplomatic corps. Although loyal to their own country, they were at the same time loyal to their religious leaders. For example, Sayyid Hasan Taqizadih, the Iranian intellectual, states in his memoirs that the Iranian chargé d'affaires in the USA, 'Ali-Quli Khan Nabil al-Daulih, every week used to prepare 'two detailed official reports: one to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tehran, and one to Acre [i.e., to 'Abdu'l-Baha].'⁸⁶ Other Baha'is were employed by foreign embassies in Iran, especially that of the British, with whom the Baha'is enjoyed close connections and friendly relations. Many of the most important British administrators⁸⁷ turned to 'Abdu'l-Baha for wise and unbiased advice; nor did he hesitate to turn to the British authorities when he wished to appeal against injustices done to Baha'is, whether in Iran or elsewhere.⁸⁸ Moreover, the fact that 'Abdu'l-Baha was knighted by the British in 1921,⁸⁹ that Baha'i leaders resided in Palestine (then under British mandate), and that certain officials in the British Legation in Tehran were local Baha'is – e.g. 'Abbas-Quli Khan Navvab (interpreter, then assistant Oriental secretary and later head of the Oriental Chancery)⁹⁰ and 'Abd al-Husayn Khan Na'imi, the head *munshi* (clerk) and assistant Oriental secretary⁹¹ – might all have helped to create this image, which probably became stronger against the background of Riza Shah's resentment towards the British presence in, and control of, southern Iran and the Persian Gulf, as well as the British oil and other concessions in the area.

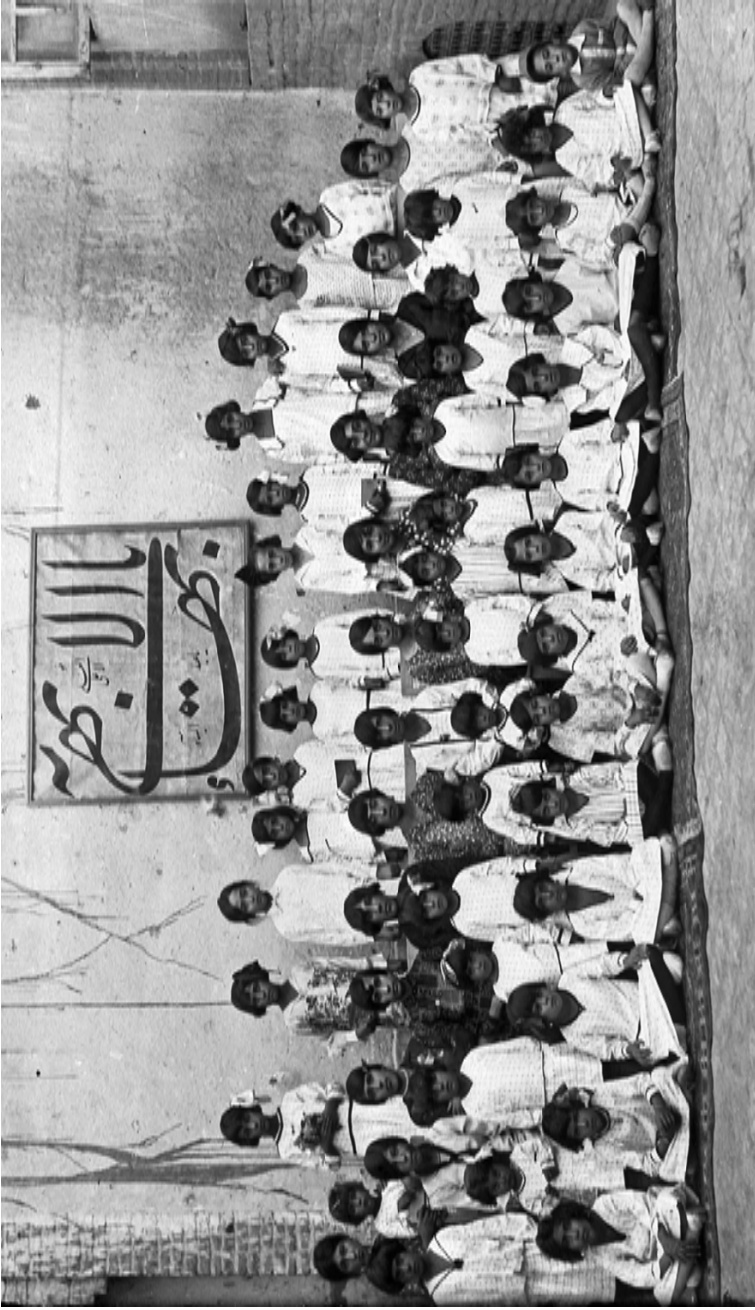


FIGURE 11. The Tavakkul Girls' School in Qazvin, 1928.

The sign on the wall reads 'Ya Baha' al-Abha' (O Thou Glory of Glories), which is another form of the Greatest Name, 'Allah-u-Abha'.

Source: BWCA; Tarazullah Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilahi: Zindigimahi-yi Ayyadi Anrullab Tarazullab Samandari*, 1: opposite p. 392. © BWC.

Baha'is also maintained good relations with other countries, partly because of the activities of their communities in those countries, some of which communities were very much occupied with the affairs of the Baha'i community in Iran. From the beginning of the twentieth century, American Baha'is became increasingly involved in the activities of their brethren in Iran, and the Persian-American Educational Society, which they set up in 1909, was most effective in furthering the progress of modern education among the Iranian Baha'is.⁹² Other communities also helped, especially by mounting strong protests over the persecution of their co-religionists in Iran. For example, after the 1926 massacre of Baha'is in Jahrum and persecution in Maraghih, protests were sent by the NSAs of the United States and Canada, and Iraq, and the LSA of Auckland in New Zealand.⁹³

Compared to the Baha'is, the Zoroastrians⁹⁴ and the Jews⁹⁵ in Iran were ancient communities, small in size, enjoying official protected status and therefore generally experiencing less antipathy, and they did not propagate any 'threatening' ideology that might have caused the state to question their loyalty. This could explain, for example, why Riza Shah allowed Jewish schools to close on the Sabbath (Saturday, the first day of the school/working week in Iran) and also on other Jewish holidays according to the Hebrew calendar,⁹⁶ while he forbade similar privileges to the Baha'is. Another explanation could be that while most of the students studying in the Jewish schools were Jews, Muslims attended many Baha'i schools in large numbers; thus, applying different regulations to the Baha'i schools could have sent a misguided message to the Muslim students and their families.

In addition, Riza Shah might either have been unfamiliar with all the teachings of the Baha'i faith, or have been fed disinformation regarding them. On the other hand, he might have been given enough true but partial information regarding the Baha'is to arouse his suspicion of, and opposition to, them. Yet again, he may have been quite familiar with the principles of the Baha'i faith, but as someone who put loyalty to the state above any other loyalty (such as religious), he may have been unable to understand why the Baha'is had disregarded state regulations and had acted against the warnings they had been given.

It is also possible that, with the revival of communist activity in Iran from 1934 onwards, Riza Shah sought to muster all the assistance possible, and found in the traditional elements in general, and among Shi'i clerics in particular, an ad hoc ally against the communists. However, since he was not on good terms with the religious institutions, it could be that he chose to play the Baha'i card in order to win the clerics' cooperation against the communists, or even to soften their resentment before he officially introduced unpopular reforms (such as the Unveiling of Women Act in 1936). If that was the case, then it was not the last time that Baha'is were sacrificed for political motives,⁹⁷ nor the first time that Riza Shah attempted to appease and win over the clerics.⁹⁸ In Shoghi Effendi's eyes, this was due not only to *realpolitik*, but mainly 'to its [the state's] formal recognition of Islam as the state religion of Persia', which made even the secular Pahlavi state refuse 'to extend any recognition to those [Baha'is] whom the official exponents of that religion [Shi'i clerics] had already condemned as heretics.'⁹⁹ It is a truism that the Baha'is always fell between the state and the clerics, not having much control over their own fate. According to Hamid Algar, the Baha'is

came to occupy something of a position between the State and the ulama, not one enabling them to balance the two sides, but rather exposing them to blows, which each side aimed at the other. The government, interested in maintaining order, would resist persecution of the Baha'is by the ulama, but would equally, when occasion demanded, permit actions against the Baha'is.¹⁰⁰

However, Riza Shah used religious minorities in general and not just the Baha'is, in an attempt to mollify his critics, and the example of unveiling is a good one. As a leading scholar on Iran, Houchang Chehabi, explains,

Indignation over unveiling was one element feeding traditional society's resentment against a state that increasingly penetrated people's daily lives, be it in the form of conscription, higher taxation or dress codes. To assuage its critics and prove its Islamic credentials, the government resorted to the old trick of sacrificing the interests of minorities.¹⁰¹

In implementing drastic acts of reform, such as the unveiling of women, Riza Shah had to be cautious. He had already started with early attempts along these lines in 1928, again by sacrificing some religious minorities, including the Baha'is. In that year a few teachers and many schoolgirls from Baha'i, Armenian and Zoroastrian schools ventured into the streets wearing European clothes, thus playing a pioneering role in this respect.¹⁰² In this way Riza Shah was able to evaluate popular reaction to this preliminary step towards the introduction of unveiling, and, in case of strong opposition, to blame it on the religious minorities.

Eliz Sanasarian, another leading scholar on Iran, seems to hold a similar view, claiming that with one exception, all the restrictions that were imposed on the Baha'is in the 1930s – such as attacks in the press, closing down of some centres, closing of schools, demotion or denying access to government jobs, and banning the publication of literature – were similar to measures directed at Armenians, Jews and Zoroastrians.¹⁰³ Sanasarian even identifies a wider phenomenon, claiming that non-Muslims in Iran were unfairly blamed or were associated with political rivals in order to fulfil the political and personal ambitions of Muslim politicians who were fully aware that such a policy would be effective mainly with the clergy and their adherents.¹⁰⁴

In spite of the above, it seems that the Baha'is were the worst off among Iran's religious minorities. Even a strong, anticlerical and secular-minded ruler such as Riza Shah could not risk recognizing or even appearing to favour the Baha'is, and certainly not when he needed the support of the clerics or the public (e.g., during the period of his power consolidation in the country), or when he needed to avoid arousing clerical or popular opposition (as when he wished to introduce radical reforms). After all, the term 'Babi' (or 'Baha'i') was an epithet that had been used in Iran since 1844 against reforms and reformists (whether rulers, ministers, intellectuals, etc.), as well as in many individual cases of conflict, such as in business matters. Riza Shah was no doubt aware of this prevailing prejudice, and the success of the Shi'i clerics – his staunch opponents – in using it against him, as they had done in 1924 in connection with his attempt to introduce republicanism into Iran, as well as in connection with his radical reforms. For

Riza Shah, being portrayed as associating himself with 'Babism' or 'Baha'ism' meant risking losing the loyalty of segments of the population, and he could not afford that. He therefore needed to initiate measures against the Baha'is that would make any such portrayal or accusation appear ridiculous.

If these suppositions are correct, then they might explain Riza Shah's *volte-face* with regard to the Baha'is: i.e., his decision to close the Baha'i schools and take other anti-Baha'i measures, such as refusing to recognize the validity of Baha'i marriage certificates and deeming Baha'i marriages as concubinage; closing some local Baha'i centres; expropriating a number of Baha'i cemeteries; banning the printing and circulation of all Baha'i literature; seizing Baha'i documents, books and relics; prohibiting all Baha'i gatherings, conferences and conventions; imposing strict censorship on all communications to and from the Baha'i community; dismissing some Baha'i government employees; demoting some Baha'is in the army; and so on.¹⁰⁵ Such measures were a regular feature of Baha'i life in Iran, and their intensification and/or relaxation seems to have depended very much on domestic politics, and especially on state-'ulama' relations.

On the other hand, when Riza Shah felt confident in his power and that his rule was now consolidated, the Pahlavi state used the very same Baha'is to annoy the Shi'i clerics and prove to them that the shah could do whatever he wanted. In this way one could explain various 'positive' measures, such as the limited degree of protection given to Baha'is from persecution; the permission granted to them to open schools and other institutions; their employment in military as well as in civil positions, some of which were quite important (particularly in those branches of government related to finance); etc.¹⁰⁶ This, if true, was probably a by-product of Riza Shah's religious tolerance, his formal image as the king of all Iranians, and his recognition of the Baha'is as having high potential for usefulness. Apart from their progressive social teachings, many of which corresponded to Riza Shah's own social policies,¹⁰⁷ the Baha'is held to two religious tenets that would have commended them to any regime in a period of crisis: loyalty to civil government and avoidance of all involvement in partisan political agitation.¹⁰⁸

These contrary attitudes which the shah demonstrated towards the Baha'is seem to be yet another example of the 'divide and rule' policy, at which Riza Shah was so adept. The massacre in April 1926 of the Baha'is of Jahrum, a fortnight before the shah's coronation ceremony, seems to demonstrate this policy, as does Riza Shah's dual and contradictory attitude towards the clerics and the Baha'is. On the one hand, the state showed a pro-Baha'i and anticlerical stand in arresting all the mullas and *tullab* (students at religious seminaries) who carried out the murders; but on the other, it sent a contradictory message by ordering all post and telegraph offices not to accept petitions or complaints from Baha'is when it released all those who had been arrested without punishment.¹⁰⁹ As noted by the Baha'i scholar Douglas Martin, 'the more exposed and vulnerable the Baha'i community was, the more dependent it presumably would be upon the ruler's good will and all the greater was the temptation to abuse the community when interests of State dictated.'¹¹⁰

A fifth possible reason for the closure of Baha'i schools and the timing of this action may be connected to educational reforms in the Turkish Republic and to Riza Shah's visit to Turkey in June 1934.¹¹¹ In 1924, shortly after the establishment of the Turkish



FIGURE 12. The Tavakkul Boys' School in Qazvin, c. 1922.
Source: BWCA; Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilahi*, 1: opposite p. 393. © BWC.

Republic (1923), the Turkish government instituted the first education law – the ‘Law for the Consolidation of Instruction’, which nationalized the four pathways into schooling: public, religious, private and foreign schools. All these were brought under the Ministry of National Education, and the government introduced a national curriculum.¹¹² It could well be that, in line with following the Turkish model in many other fields of reform,¹¹³ Riza Shah also decided to adopt this measure in Iran, since it sat well with his nationalistic, centralized, and Persian-dominating policies. Indeed, by 1932 nationalist and anti-foreign (mainly anti-British and anti-Soviet) feeling in Iran, together with the increasing centralization of the government’s educational policy, were already placing severe restrictions on the foreign schools and threatening them with closure. In 1933 primary classes in all foreign schools were forcibly closed,¹¹⁴ and in the same year all AIU schools gave up on French as the language of instruction, with French being taught only from the intermediate level onwards.¹¹⁵

After the shah’s state visit to Turkey, the process of state control over education intensified. Earlier attempts had already started, on 5 September 1928, when the Ministry of Education issued a book of regulations for foreign schools attended by Iranian students. According to this, all American schools were ordered to teach only the curriculum set by the Ministry of Education and to use Persian as the only language of instruction during the first four years of elementary schooling. In the higher grades, Persian and Arabic, as well as Iranian history and geography, were to be included in the curriculum, with biblical studies being forbidden for Muslim students.¹¹⁶ In this way, many progressive schools run by religious minorities, as well as the foreign schools, were gradually brought under the direction of the Ministry of Education, with Baha’i schools being the first, but not the only, victims. In 1936, less than two years after the closure of the Baha’i schools, it was the turn of the Armenians: the closing of their schools by the state delivered a severe blow, mainly to their cultural activities.¹¹⁷

In 1937, and in spite of the close relations between Iran and Germany, the Iranian government took over the German vocational school, *Madrasah-yi San’ati*, which had been founded in Tehran in 1923.¹¹⁸ The state also took control of the prestigious British schools, such as the *Dabiristan-i Bihisht-i Aayin* in Isfahan, and the *Dabiristan-i Izad-Payman* in Yazd.¹¹⁹ The growing nationalism during Riza Shah’s rule, which was particularly fostered by officials at the Education Ministry, finally led to the closing of most of the foreign (especially missionary) schools in 1940 and their transformation into public state schools.¹²⁰

In the kind of state envisioned by Riza Shah, there was simply no room for foreign schools or any schools with administrative and pedagogic autonomy, in which the state had absolutely no say about how they were run, or their timetables, curriculum or staff appointments. It was an anomaly that Riza Shah sought to change, with the aim of bringing all Iranians, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation, under the authority of the central government, to strengthen Iranian culture, nationalism and identity. Education was a powerful tool to achieve this aim, and for that his government planned a unitary state educational system of curriculum, textbooks, exams and regulations, along with a strict control mechanism for securing the precise execution of the regulations in all state schools. It seems that as long as the state school system was unable to meet the growing demand for secular and modern cadres, the various foreign schools were allowed

to operate and their autonomy was accepted, although unwillingly, by the state. But once the state began to meet those needs, a process of gradually encroaching on the autonomy of these schools began, finally leading to nationalizing the majority of them.

As to the 'Turkish connection' explanation, this did not escape the eyes of H. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, the British ambassador to Tehran at the time. In trying to explain to Sir John Simon, the British foreign secretary, the reasons behind the closure of the Baha'i schools in Iran, he said: 'I am inclined to wonder whether this curious assertion of governmental authority is connected with His Majesty's visit to Turkey; if so, we must, I suppose, expect a general attack on all forms of foreign instruction on the lines of the Turkish model.'¹²¹

Riza Shah may also have been attentive to what was taking place in Turkey with regard to the Baha'is themselves. On 19 November 1928, James Morgan, the British consul in Smyrna, reported that the local press labelled ordinary grievances as 'Communism' and religious grievances as 'Bahatism'. 'The population are told', wrote Morgan, 'that Turkey has not suppressed the dervishes in the interests of progress, to make way for the foreign sect of the Bahais, and are warned of the danger of belonging to secret societies, with special reference to Freemasonry and the Order of Bektashis.'¹²²

It was newspaper reports such as this that led to the arrest of several Baha'is in Smyrna and resulted in a close investigation by the police and judiciary into Baha'i affairs in Turkey. Four years later, in November 1932, some 15 Baha'is were arrested in Adana, with more arrests continuing over the next few months in Mersin, Gaziantep and Birecik as well, reaching 50 by early February 1933. The Baha'is were charged with

Forming a secret society, having seals made, collecting money illegally, having books and documents relating to Bahatism, being in communication with one Şevki [Shoghi Effendi], 'who is the Head of the Bahais at Hayfa [Haifa] and has been awarded a decoration by the British Government', paying the school-fees of Bahai children at the American School in Beirut, and performing divorces and marriages.¹²³

As someone who regarded the reforms in Turkey as a realistic model that could be followed and implemented in Iran, and as a person who had carefully followed developments in Turkey even before he became king,¹²⁴ Riza Shah was very probably well aware of the news coverage of Baha'i activity in Turkey, and could have been influenced by the way it depicted Baha'is as a secret society, involved in covert and illegal activity. Since the coverage in the Turkish press took place just before the resumption of communist activity in Iran, it could have fueled Riza Shah's suspicions and influenced his decision, after his state visit to Turkey, to take harsh measures against the Baha'is. Thus, the timing of the closure of the Baha'i schools in Iran might have been affected by developments in Turkey, although the connection could also be circumstantial.

There is a sixth possible explanation for the closure of the Baha'i schools. By 1934 Riza Shah may well have felt that his reforms in education had produced enough modern national schools, and that there was no longer any justification for the presence in Iran of schools that were not under the full control of the state. Indeed, by that year he already had managed to establish a modernized state school system, and foreign schools did not

exactly sit comfortably with his policy of uniformity, national unity and sovereignty. He might have thought that, having done their share, those schools could now gradually be removed, and the Baha'i schools seemed to be the easiest to start with.

The first blow against foreign schools had already come in 1932, when the *Majlis* (Parliament) prohibited foreign elementary schools from accepting Iranian students, a measure which essentially closed them down, and which was, according to some scholars, designed to halt the rapidly increasing enrolment of Muslims in such schools.¹²⁵ The last blow came in 1939, with the government's decision to take control of all remaining foreign educational establishments in Iran.¹²⁶ By 1940 all foreign missionary schools had been closed and transformed into public state schools. In this respect, the closure of the Baha'i schools in 1934 could be seen as one phase in the grand strategy of Riza Shah to close all foreign schools in Iran.

The closure of the Tarbiyat Schools was reported in the Persian press on the following day (Sunday, 9 December 1934),¹²⁷ without any mention being made of them being Baha'i schools. In a very brief note, a leading contemporary daily wrote:

Since the employees of the Tarbiyat Girls' and Boys' Schools have not been following the regulations and orders of the Ministry of Education, their licence was revoked by an official order from the Ministry of Education and today the doors of both schools were closed and their name-plaques removed.¹²⁸

The closure of the two Tarbiyat Schools created an uproar in the capital. Students, both Baha'is and non-Baha'is, many of them in tears, came every day to the schools to enquire about the reasons they remained closed. The closure affected some 1,500 students (ranging in age up to 20 years), their families and a number of teachers.¹²⁹ Soon similar steps were taken against Baha'i schools by the local authorities in Hamadan, Qazvin, Sultanabad, Kashan and Yazd and in other towns and localities that possessed Baha'i schools.¹³⁰

The closure of Tarbiyat, and the official reason given for the move, aroused the fears of other non-Muslim communities in Tehran. For example, the staff of the American College of Tehran followed these developments with great interest and alarm, waiting to see whether Riza Shah would insist that they kept their schools open on that year's rapidly approaching Christmas Day (25 December 1934).¹³¹

The NSA decided to send a petition to Riza Shah, in which they stated that injustice had been done to the Baha'i community, pointing out that all other non-Baha'i schools in Tehran closed occasionally under similar circumstances. The petition was submitted to Shukuh al-Mulk, head of Riza Shah's Bureau, who claimed to have orders not to accept it. The petition was then taken to the telegraph office, but was refused by order of the director of telegraphs. When the NSA sent a representative with the petition to the gate of the Sa'adabad Palace to await Riza Shah, the representative was promptly arrested.¹³²

However, the closure of Tarbiyat was not the end – rather, it was the beginning of a series of anti-Baha'i measures, for Riza Shah decided to come down hard on the Baha'is.

In addition to the act of closure, he decided to confiscate Tarbiyat's property, which he later purchased 'very cheaply, at approximately 10 thousand *tumans*', and eventually turned into one of his royal palaces. He then ordered the closing down of all the other Baha'i schools that had observed the holiday and been closed on that same day (28 Sha'ban), and he also ordered Baha'i meetings banned throughout the country (probably with the exception of Tehran). Things got so bad that in Yazd, the house of an old and sick woman, where some Baha'is had gathered to pray for her, was even raided by the Amniyyih, Riza Shah's secret police, who claimed that it was an illegal gathering and confiscated much furniture and household goods. In another case, the file of a Baha'i who went to complain to the police that his bicycle had been stolen was soon changed into 'demonstration', with the plaintiff himself being thrown into jail. There were other types of anti-Baha'i oppression as well. In Sultanabad, for instance, the archives of the local Baha'i community were seized and sent to the Tehran Police Administration.¹³³

The state then closed dozens of other Baha'i schools throughout the country,¹³⁴ and a few Baha'i kindergartens that had just opened. Indeed, Riza Shah's measures against the Baha'is became so heavy handed that it started to be said that 'in daylight one has to take a light and search for Nasir-al-Din Shah' (in other words, Riza Shah's anti-Baha'i measures were so severe that they made Nasir al-Din Shah look like the lesser of two evils).¹³⁵

THE STATE OF BAHAI EDUCATION IN IRAN AFTER THE CLOSURE OF BAHAI SCHOOLS

Not all Baha'i schools closed on 8 December 1934 or even immediately afterwards. The ministerial order was strictly executed only in the major cities and towns, while it was possible to find exceptions in the more remote places. For example, the Baha'i Girls' School in Sangsar continued to operate, although unofficially, after the 1934 order to close the schools, and was still in operation even at the end of the 1940s or early 1950s.¹³⁶ The Baha'i schools in 'Arabkhayl, Sisan, and Yazd (Tarbiyat-i Dushizihgan) also continued to operate after the closure order of 1934.¹³⁷ These exceptions need to be explained, especially given Riza Shah's totalitarian and centralist state and policies.

As far as the Baha'i schools in Yazd are concerned, the available Baha'i documentation provides a clear explanation. As mentioned earlier, after receiving several warnings about previous closures of Baha'i schools on days not officially declared by the state as national holidays, the Iranian NSA appealed to Shoghi Effendi, asking him to reconsider the logic behind closing Baha'i schools in such circumstances. Since the 28th of Sha'ban, the day marking the martyrdom of the Bab, was so close, the NSA decided that if the Guardian's reply to their enquiry should not arrive on time, the Baha'i schools should be kept open. Shoghi Effendi's reply – to keep the schools closed – indeed came just in time to be implemented in Tehran and other major cities, but it seems that certain Baha'i LSAs and schools, such as the four in Yazd, did not receive the order by the 28th of Sha'ban, and therefore kept the schools open on that day, thereby strictly following the NSA's initial orders.¹³⁸

This evidence also contradicts the claim that the state and/or Riza Shah were looking for excuses to close Baha'i schools, for if they were, then it is most likely that

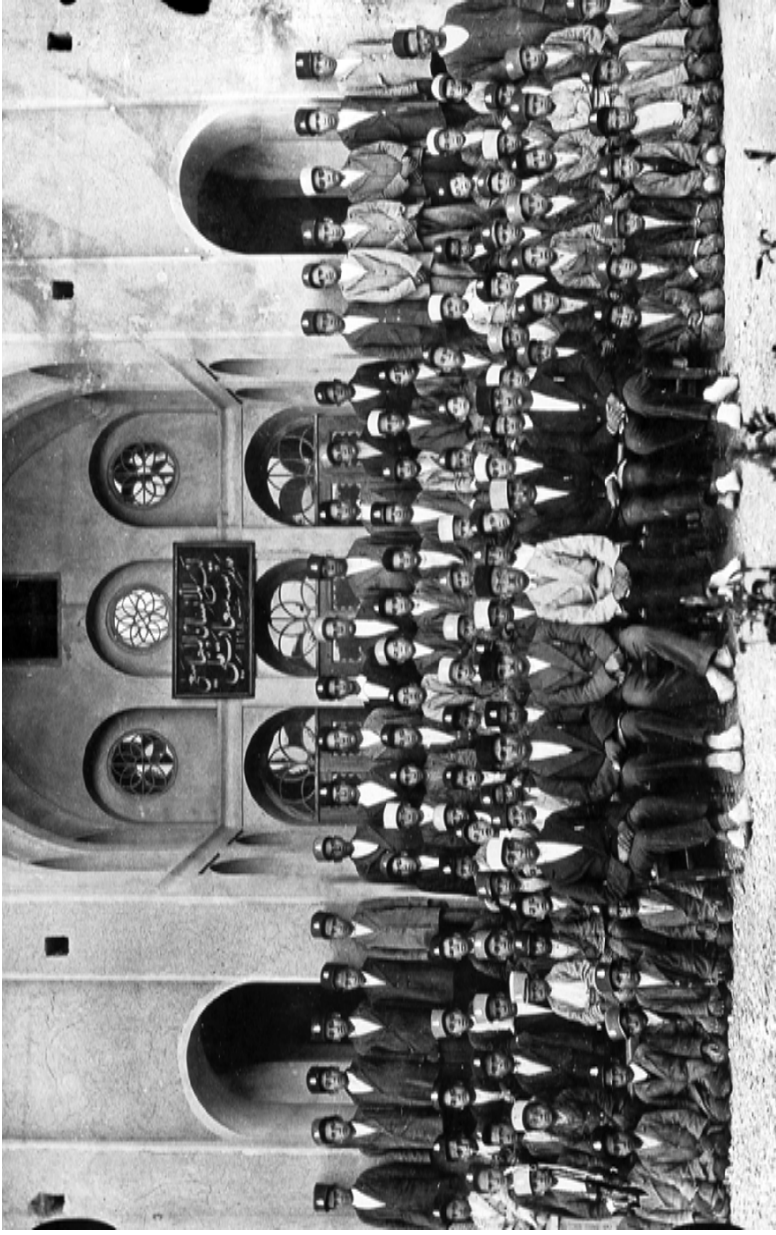


FIGURE 13. Madrasah-i Milli-yi Banin (or Madrasah-i-yi Pīsarānīh-yi Sa'adat-i Milli), Najafābad, 1934.

Mr Ahmad Shahidi, the school's manager, is seated in the centre.

Note that the foundation year of the school, as mentioned on the school's name-plaque, is s. 1298/1920 (see Table 1, note 31). © BWC.

they would not have permitted the schools in Yazd to remain open after December 1934; instead, it was only the schools that had closed on the day marking the Bab's martyrdom that were shut down. This fact supports the argument that the main cause of the closure of the Baha'i schools was their 'disobedience' to the state by not following the regulations set by the Ministry of Education with regard to the dates on which schools should close. Indeed, the state closed down the four Baha'i schools in Yazd a few months later, at the beginning of the month of Muharram, after they had closed for the next Baha'i holiday (Saturday, 2 Muharram 1354/16 Farvardin 1314/6 April 1935), which marked the birth of Baha'u'llah. Instructions to close all Baha'i institutions on that day were issued by the LSA of Yazd, and 'with the exception of two to three people, all the Baha'is closed their shops, stores and factories, truly causing great distress to the Yazdis.' It was following this closure that the Baha'i schools in Yazd were finally shut down on 10 April 1935.¹³⁹

The permanent closure of the Baha'i schools in Yazd was reported in a local weekly.¹⁴⁰ This was quite an exception, for by mentioning the words 'Baha'i schools' the weekly actually and officially admitted that such schools indeed existed in Iran, despite the fact that for decades their Baha'i character had been systematically ignored even though it was known to all. At any rate, this later wave of closures in April 1935 created an uproar among the Baha'is and the non-Baha'i families whose children attended the Baha'i schools of Yazd, just as the previous wave had created an upheaval in December 1934. Petitions by the NSA, the LSA of Yazd and the principals of the Baha'i schools in Yazd were sent to the shah, the parliament, the queen, Princess Shams Pahlavi,¹⁴¹ the prime minister and the minister of education and endowments, complaining against the government's unjust and unfair closures.¹⁴²

The official reply was the same as before: that by closing on Baha'i memorial days, the schools had contravened state regulations, and in a telegram to Mihraban Hidayati, the principal of the Taufiq School in Yazd, 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat, the minister of education, specifically explained which regulation it was: Article 62 of the Schools' Regulations, which prohibited closure of schools during school days. As in previous cases, the students of the closed schools were urged to attend other schools in order to continue their studies and not lag behind.¹⁴³ In reply, Hidayati claimed that the closure of the Baha'i schools in Yazd on 6 April was not contrary to any article of the Schools' Regulations, for none of those articles included any mention of any prohibition on closing the schools of the various religious minorities on their religious holidays. He was therefore quite amazed that other minorities – such as Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians – were permitted to close their schools on their religious holidays, and only Baha'is were prohibited from doing so.¹⁴⁴ Yet, if any wrongdoing had been committed, claimed Hidayati, according to articles 73 and 74 of the same book of regulations it was the principal of the school who should be called to account, not 'the innocent children, who had done no harm.' Hidayati also enquired, 'What crime has been committed that [necessitated the] gathering of all the furniture and equipment in a room and sealing it?'¹⁴⁵

This was another typical case, which demonstrated the different outlooks of the Baha'is and the Pahlavi state: while the former regarded themselves as a religious minority on an equal footing with other religious minorities, and therefore entitled to all the rights enjoyed by those religious minorities, the latter did not recognize them as

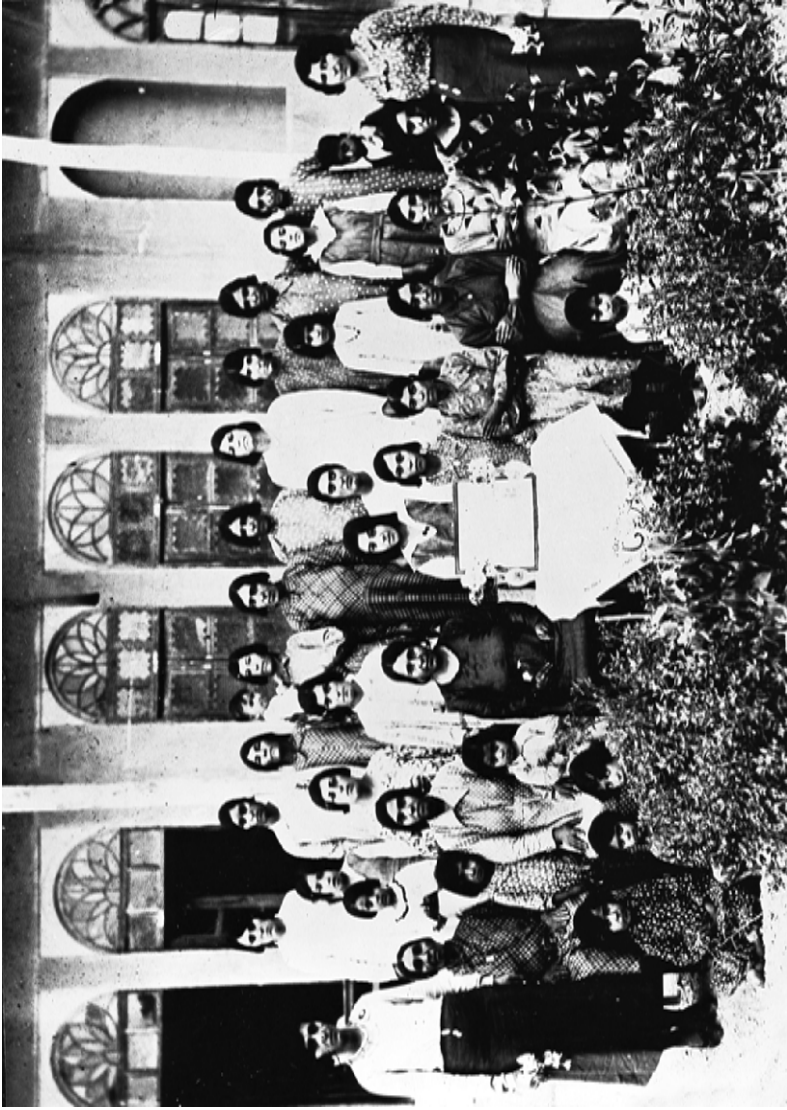


FIGURE 14. Madrasah-i Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banat (or Madrasah-i Dukhtaranih-yi Sa'adat-i Milli), Najafabad, c. 1934. In the front row, standing on the far left and far right, are Thabitih and Thanisyyih Sadiqi (Sadiqiyan), respectively. The framed Baha'i inscription 'Ya Baha' al-Abha' (O Thou Glory of Glories) can be seen in the centre of the forefront. © BWC.

such, but rather as Iranian subjects who could act on their religious beliefs in their homes, but were not permitted to give them any public expression.

Concerning the other Baha'i schools that were not closed in December 1934, it is possible that the explanation concerning the schools in Yazd applied to them as well. But as far as the schools that closed down years later are concerned, one has to rule out the above explanation, for the flow of information was not *that* slow. Therefore, an alternative reason should be sought, and it could be related to the spread of the state schools throughout Iran. In other words, perhaps Baha'i schools were permitted to continue to operate in areas where the state either lacked schools of its own, or did not have enough of them. This could explain why Baha'i schools in the more rural areas, such as 'Arabkhayl and Sisan, were allowed to remain open longer. If this assumption is correct, then it means that Riza Shah preferred Baha'i schools over no schools, and this might have been behind his allowing certain Baha'i schools to continue to operate for so many years until new ones could be opened by the state.

The closure of the Baha'i schools had negative effects on many children in Iran, especially the Baha'is. While the non-Baha'i students were admitted to the national or other private schools, many Baha'i students lost valuable time: some ceased to study, some wandered about in a daze for a few months, while the remainder had no choice but to eventually enrol in other schools,¹⁴⁶ especially after Shoghi Effendi permitted it – provided of course, that the schools would admit the students; Muslim schools would not accept them unless they recanted their faith, which they refused to do.¹⁴⁷ Being by far the largest in number, state schools were the obvious choice for the Baha'i students, but not all state schools accepted Baha'is. For example, in Kashan, the Baha'i students who studied at the Vahdat-i Bashar School were not admitted to the local state school, while the Muslim students from Vahdat-i Bashar were admitted. The Baha'i students had to wait a year without schooling until the local branch of the AIU accepted them. In Yazd, the Baha'i students were mainly admitted to the local Zoroastrian and English missionary schools.¹⁴⁸ However, these schools were no substitute for the comfortable environment that the Baha'i schools had provided for the Baha'i students. As for their high level of education, the foreign schools provided a worthy replacement.¹⁴⁹

As far as the staff of the Baha'i schools were concerned, many were recruited into the state educational system. They were qualified and very skilled educators, and were much needed by the state for the expansion of education in Iran. For example, Hajjiyyih Bibi Sughra Ta'if al-Haramayn, one of the founders of the Tarbiyat Girls' School in Yazd, was recruited shortly after the closure of the school by the Ministry of Education.¹⁵⁰

Baha'i students and educators who now found themselves studying or working in the state school system refrained from going to their classes or schools on the Baha'i holy days, but this did not solve the problem. For example, the 20 Baha'i students of the Kaykhusravi School in Yazd did not attend their school during the three days of Rizvan and Baha'u'llah's ascension (*Su'ud-i Mubarak*), failing to appear even for the exams which took place during those days. The manager of the school complained to the local branch of the Ministry of Education, and was permitted to expel the students from the school. The students' parents sent a long joint telegram to Prime Minister Furughi and Education Minister Hikmat, complaining about this decision. The reply was, in a way, a reflection of former decisions concerning the closure of Baha'i schools: the students were

to be pardoned for that specific instance, but would be treated according to the regulations if such actions were repeated. The Baha'is now turned for advice to Shoghi Effendi, whose ruling was as follows: the Baha'is should seek permission from the local branches of the Ministry of Education or the managers of the schools to abstain from sending their children to school on those days, but should act according to whatever ruling was given by the local or school officials. It was this ruling that finally solved this acute problem.¹⁵¹

The closure of the Baha'i schools did not put an end to Baha'i educational activity. Although no Baha'i schools were allowed to operate in public in Iran after 1934, unofficial Baha'i schools began to mushroom in Baha'i communities in different parts of the country. These could close during Baha'i holy days, and the state did not prevent their activity.¹⁵² 'Within two weeks', wrote Abu al-Qasim Fayzi (who, after completing his military service, came to Najafabad to educate Baha'i children, only to find that the Baha'i schools had just been closed), 'twenty school and *akblaq* [moral education] classes were set up in the homes of the Baha'is, and began operating like a very efficient factory. A hidden hand had operated it, tightening all its bolts and nuts and wheels, and it is still in operation . . .'¹⁵³

If the situation in the cities and towns was difficult, in the villages it was usually much worse. This left room for local initiatives only, either by Baha'i individuals or communities in the various parts of Iran. For example, during his four-and-half-year stay in Najafabad Abu al-Qasim Fayzi drew up a programme according to which young Baha'is from the town migrated to the remoter areas in order to bring a meaningful change in the education of Baha'is and their children.¹⁵⁴ Schools also needed to be opened in areas where no Baha'i school had existed before. Such was the situation in the villages around Sultanabad, which was home to quite a large Baha'i community, as well as the villages of Shahabad, Khalajabad and Shazand. The NSA sent Baha'i teachers and educators to such places, and they opened classes in Baha'i homes; non-Baha'i students were also admitted into these classes.¹⁵⁵

With the closure of the Baha'i schools, Baha'is were forbidden to bring their holy books into schools, or even to print or publish them. The shortage of such books forced the Baha'is to adopt other measures in order to overcome this difficulty. For example, in Najafabad the students were encouraged to hand-copy books or to pass books from one to another.¹⁵⁶

More than three decades after the opening of the first Baha'i school, it was Riza Shah – the pro-reform, pro-modernization, and anticlerical nationalist shah – who decided to close them all. His decision seems to have been the product of a range of reasons and factors which, combined with his own personality and the national, regional and international circumstances, resulted in the closure of the Baha'i schools in Iran.

As a man who had grown up in a military family and begun a military career at young age, Riza Shah could not stand disobedience. As a nationalist leader who wished to create a modern nation-state in which the loyalty of its citizens was primarily to the nation and its leader, he could not tolerate either a supranational loyalty (to a religion or ideology) or a sub-national loyalty (to an ethnic group). Therefore, he probably saw Baha'i loyalty

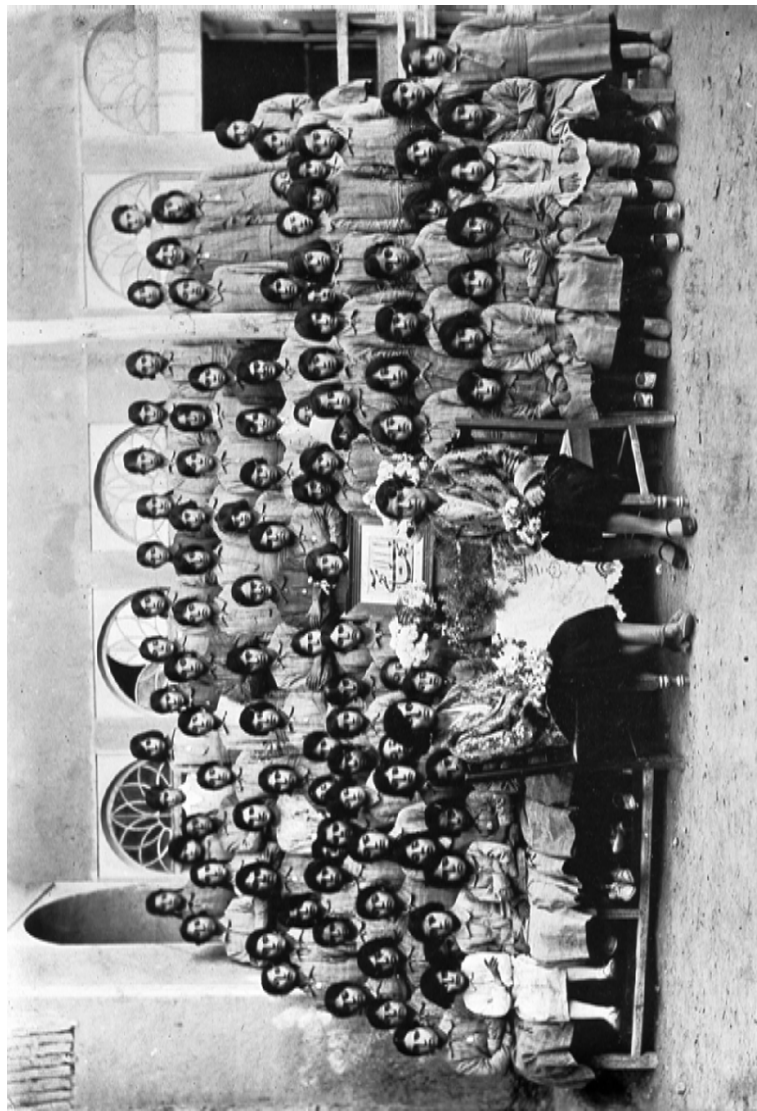


FIGURE 15. Madrasah-yi Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banat (or Madrasah-yi Dukhraranih-yi Sa'adat-i Milli), Najafabad, c. 1934. The school's manager, Thabitih Sadiqi (Sadiqiyan), is seated in the forefront, on the left-hand chair, with her sister, Thaniyyih, seated on the right-hand chair. The framed Baha'i inscription 'Ya Baha' al-Abha' (O Thou Glory of Glories) can be seen in the centre of the forefront. © BWC.

to Shoghi Effendi, the Guardian of the Baha'i community worldwide, as a supranational loyalty, just as he saw in Kurdish, Azeri, Baluchi and other ethnic groups a sub-national loyalty; and he fought them both. He might not have given much consideration to the fact that the Baha'i faith was a new religion that was trying to establish itself as an independent entity in Iran as elsewhere, and that Shoghi Effendi's order to close all Baha'i institutions, including Baha'i schools, in strict observance of the Baha'i holidays was part of his strategy to establish the Baha'i faith on an equal footing with other monotheistic religions. It also seems that the shah did not give much weight to the fact that loyalty to the government was a religious duty of the Baha'is, although there is a possibility that he was not aware of it.

Riza Shah's suspicion towards the Baha'is was probably fuelled by his own experience with other ideologies such as fascism and communism, which he saw as competing with his own country's national unity, and by the conspiracies of anti-Baha'i elements within the Pahlavi state and Iranian society. The Turkish model of nationalized education, which he also tried to apply in other fields of reform in Iran, apparently played some part in his decision to close the Baha'i schools as well.

Under Riza Shah, national tendencies became so strong that they were easily moved toward radicalism, and became similar to religious bigotry – a force wrapped in intense ethnocentrism and chauvinism – while his policies of nationalism, uniformity and centralization in fact brought relative relief and security for the religious minorities and protected them from the tyranny of local religious zealots. Riza Shah wished to introduce a type of identity that was based not on adherence to Islam (or to any other religion), but on nationalism as it was envisioned through the state ideology. This caused him to be intolerant of any adherence or loyalty to anything but the state. Therefore, he might have regarded the adherence of the Iranian Baha'is to Shoghi Effendi's order to shut the schools as a kind of disloyalty to the state. Once they had been branded as disloyal, the Baha'is – as well as other religious or ethnic minorities whose actions were similarly interpreted by the state – became subject to a series of punitive acts. Disloyalty to the state, as he defined it, seems to have been regarded by Riza Shah as a kind of taboo, overriding any other credits that the Baha'is might have had, such as their religious duty to be law-abiding citizens of the state, and their support of social reforms such as the emancipation of women, the spread of education, science and technology, etc., that were in line with state guidelines and policies.¹⁵⁷

On the other hand, it was the weakness of those religious minorities, and especially the Baha'is, which tempted Riza Shah, as well as the other kings before him and his son after him, to use them and sacrifice their interests to promote his own vis-à-vis the clergy and the traditional elements in Iran. Again, the reformist, modern ideas and activities of the Baha'i faith and community – or, for the matter, those of *'irfan*, secularism and modern Islamism – may have been tolerated by Riza Shah simply because they seemed to offer some alternative to the conservative Shi'ism that he attempted to undermine.

The contradictory attitudes of Riza Shah towards the Baha'is could be explained not only because of the way the Baha'is fell between the state and the Shi'i religious establishment, but also in direct relation to time: in the earlier period of his rule, up to the early 1930s, Riza Shah was heavily active in implementing reforms, many of which corresponded to tenets of his Baha'i subjects. During this period the shah had such trust

in the Baha'is that he not only registered three of his children in the Tarbiyat Boys' and Girls' Schools, but even appointed a Baha'i officer, Assadullah Sani'i, as the Crown Prince's adjutant. According to Husayn Fardust, Sani'i was later promoted to major and then lieutenant-general in the Ministry of War and other ministries.¹⁵⁸ This earlier period of Riza Shah is considered to be the time during which he was consolidating his rule.

The later period of the reign of Riza Shah, however, was no more than a dictatorship, during which he increasingly identified his own interests as the state's interests. He grew very suspicious, especially of those who supported alternative ideologies to his own, and these suspicions did not even exclude his closest advisors. It was mainly during this later period that most of the anti-Baha'i measures were taken, just as they were taken against communists, fascists and many others. But even though he prohibited the activities of the latter two groups, as well as the activities of many other ideologies, movements and organizations in Iran, it should nevertheless be acknowledged that he did not prohibit the practice of the Baha'i faith in Iran.

CONCLUSION

Changes in the political, social and economic space in Qajar Iran had, by the end of the nineteenth century, made the need for reform and change in the educational and cultural practices of Iranian society unavoidable. Modernization, and the support given by Iranian intellectuals to European-modelled socio-cultural reforms, helped pave the way for both the state and the society to move in that direction. Education itself, because of its central role in the implementation and assimilation of such reforms, became one of the main fields for modernization.

A demand for modern education had began to be felt within Iranian society, mainly among the aristocracy. In time, this demand accelerated, driven by the growing needs of both the state and the foreign concerns for modern-educated employees – a process that only emphasized the inadequate nature of the limited, though important, steps that had already been taken in this field during the reigns of Muhammad Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah.

A more opportune period came at the end of the nineteenth century with the accession to the throne of Muzaffar al-Din Shah. With promoters of modern education such as the reform-minded prime minister Amin al-Daulih and the energetic educationalist Rushdiyyih, and with a stronger movement for reform and modernization, the time was ripe to introduce additional venues for modern education. Permission to establish more modern schools was granted not only to the already-existing foreign concerns in Iran, such as the Christian missions and the AF, but also to new entities, whether foreign (such as the AIU) or local (individuals such as Rushdiyyih and other members of the Anjuman-i Ma'arif). Most surprising of all was the state's decision to permit individual Baha'is to establish schools.

By the late nineteenth century, state persecution of Baha'is had to a large extent been relaxed. Also, the differences between the image of militant and troublesome Babis and the image of peaceful and obedient Baha'is had by then become more apparent, at least to some influential people. The period in which the new, sickly, greedy and politically weak Qajar monarch, Muzaffar al-Din Shah, found himself was one of growing change, modernity and westernization. For many years a number of leading intellectuals and reformers had regarded modern education as the secret of the West's superiority over Iran (and the Islamic world), and were therefore pressing for the foundation of modern schools in the country. But by the end of the nineteenth century, the achievements of the Iranian

state and of Shi'i individuals in this area remained very poor, and were still a long way from meeting the escalating demand for modern education that for some could mean promotion and more lucrative positions, and for others, probably salvation from poverty. The pressure must have been sufficiently heavy to have caused the Qajar state to permit the founding of so many modern schools, not only by Christians, Zoroastrians and Jewish minorities and organizations, but even by the hated Baha'is as well.

However, unlike the first three of these religious groups – who were protected minorities in Iran – the latter were (and still are) not protected. Therefore, probably in an attempt to avoid arousing the harsh opposition of the Shi'i clerics and their followers, the Baha'is were not granted collective permission to open schools. Instead, permission was given only to individual Baha'is, by name and without any indication in the official documents as to their beliefs. As believers in a post-Muhammadan religion, the Baha'is in Iran (and elsewhere in the Islamic world) could have not been accepted by the religious establishment, which regarded them as apostates. Nor, because of this, could the state – even one as secular-minded as the Pahlavi state – risk its own legitimacy by officially recognizing the Baha'is. Thus, the state regarded the giving of licences to individual Baha'is to establish schools in Iran as simply permitting a number of individual citizens to open schools. Indeed, this also fitted well with the process of providing such permits to individual Muslims, beginning with Rushdiyyih. At the same time, it gave the state more credit for its promotion of modern education for the general population.

The state's desire to expand the number of modern schools in the country coincided with certain developments in the Baha'i community both within and outside Iran. For the Baha'is, Shi'i Iran was probably more of a 'hell' than an 'ideal world'; but ironically it was these very 'hellish' conditions in which the Baha'is lived that caused their leaders to make such strenuous efforts to provide appropriate venues for the education of Baha'i children. Years of continuous persecution, combined with the lack of any proper facilities for schooling their children, had made the future quite grim for the Baha'is in Iran. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this situation, along with the fact that for Baha'is, education is both a religious duty and the only way to better practise their faith, encouraged the Baha'i leadership to seize the opportunities that were opening up and establish schools in Iran, or risk extinction.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Baha'is were fairly well represented at all levels of Iranian society, while the importance given in their beliefs to reform, education, science and modernity had encouraged many non-Baha'is either to convert to the Baha'i faith or to support the Baha'i cause. Thus, especially during the period 1870–1920, there were a large number of Baha'i sympathizers who did not openly declare their affiliation to the Baha'i religion. These people would have suffered less persecution (or none at all), and would have been able to send their children to non-Baha'i schools if they wished. The time seemed ripe to push the Baha'i community out of obscurity into the open. Modern Baha'i schools would not only provide an appropriate environment for Baha'i children to receive the tools that would enable them to be better believers, but would also provide an alternative to attending other schools, where they risked religious assimilation or pressure to recant their faith. The Baha'i schools in Iran would not only save the Iranian Baha'is from extinction, but would even provide a platform for promoting their beliefs, and in so doing would become a major source for rejuvenation and renewal by bringing new converts to the faith.

After the inauguration of the first Baha'i school in Iran – the Tarbiyat Boys' School in Tehran in 1899 – dozens of other Baha'i schools opened throughout the country in cities, towns and villages where there were large communities of Baha'is. This expansion was part of the wider expansion in modern elementary and secondary education in the country, which began in the late nineteenth century and progressed rapidly into the twentieth. It was characterized as a mass phenomenon, which ended the upper-class monopoly on modern education by opening schooling to the masses as well. The Baha'is saw this window of opportunity and began to found schools of their own, which often preceded the establishment of state schools in their respective localities.

Although the Baha'i schools were founded and owned, as well as attended, staffed and managed, by Baha'is, they were also attended by children from other religious groups. In remote places this occurred because they were the only schools providing a modern education, while in the urban centres it was usually due to the schools' superior standards of education. The attendance of non-Baha'is underscored the inter-communality of the schools: for here Muslim, Jewish and Zoroastrian children (and perhaps even some Christian children) sat side by side with Baha'i children to study in a setting that was not overtly communal but where an atmosphere of inter-communality blossomed, the like of which had arguably not existed in Iran at a grassroots level for many centuries. The Baha'i community, being made up (by the early twentieth century) of large numbers of converts from the Shi'i, Jewish and Zoroastrian communities, was itself modern Iran's first truly inter-communal entity. Furthermore, unlike other religious minorities, the Baha'is were careful not to turn their schools into merely religious schools with a modern curriculum. Baha'i religious lessons were therefore taught to Baha'i students only, and only when the school was in recess, or else outside the school premises altogether. The Ministry of Education approved the curriculum, to which the Baha'i schools usually added a number of additional useful subjects, thus providing their students with an enriched curriculum and more skills, and as a result, better preparation for life after graduation.

Again, it was the religious duty of the Baha'is to acquire education, combined with the importance attached by the Baha'i faith to excellence, reform and modernization, that created the exceptionally high motivation among staff, students and the community at large. The Baha'i teaching staff, in spite of their low salaries, endeavoured to provide the Baha'i children with more knowledge, and to develop character, by demanding more from them; the children in turn responded by studying harder, to meet the more demanding curriculum that also included Friday *dars-i akhlaq* classes. The local Baha'i community was motivated to provide the necessary financial backing, while Baha'is outside Iran, mainly from the USA, provided teaching staff and equipment, as well as moral support and scholarships for their impoverished co-religionists in Iran. All these elements contributed to the excellence of the Baha'i schools and to maintaining their high educational standards. These standards created an excellent reputation for the Baha'i schools, and in turn this reputation – together with the fact that their curriculum was innovative and included no Baha'i religious classes – attracted growing numbers of non-Baha'i families, from urban centres and villages, and from the upper, middle and lower classes, to send their children to the Baha'i schools.

Eventually, however, the schools' high standards and the growing number of Muslim students attending them, combined with the fact that the schools were Baha'i

establishments staffed and run by Baha'is, aroused much opposition and resentment among non-Baha'i segments of the society. The fact that Baha'is promoted reform and modernization became a pretext for conservative elements to brand pro-reformists, pro-modernists and pro-Constitutionalists as Baha'is, while innovative Baha'i ideas and beliefs, such as universal education, were considered by those elements as heretical, and as a result their hatred towards the Baha'is and their institutions intensified. The greater the number of Baha'i schools, the harsher the opposition became, fuelled mainly by feelings of religious bigotry, superstition, jealousy and self-interest. Even so, such sentiments were not sufficient to stop the schools from opening, or to close them down, especially with the winds of liberalism and reform, constitutionalism and modernization that were blowing across Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and during the early decades of the twentieth.

In cities, towns and villages throughout the country, the first girls' schools established by Iranians (rather than by foreign concerns) were, more often than not, those established by local Baha'is. Many of these Baha'i-run girls' schools were targets of such severe hostility from those who opposed the education of girls, and those who considered the Baha'i faith heretical, that they were forced to close soon after opening. In spite of this fact, a sizeable number of Baha'i-run girls' schools in larger centres managed to flourish despite such pressures and they led the way in girls' education in Iran at the time.

It seems that the Baha'is in Iran, while fully aware of the animosity among the conservative Shi'i elements, were quite careful not to provoke the hostility of the Muslim population. In other words, it was quite clear to them that no matter what positive contribution they might make to the society at large, such as opening up dozens of modern schools, they would continue to be hated by the Shi'i clerics and their traditional allies. But at least there was hope that certain sectors of the society (such as the more educated and liberal), and perhaps even a larger part of the general population (especially those who had begun to understand the true importance of modern education for a better life), could be convinced of the positive contribution of the Baha'is to Iranian society. To that end it was imperative for the Baha'is to avoid needlessly endangering their fragile position in Iranian society, and not to provide the general population with any excuses for persecuting them. The Baha'is were therefore careful to behave according to the accepted and prevailing cultural norms, as long as this did not entail any compromise of the fundamental principles of the Baha'i faith. For example, although decades earlier (in 1848) Tahirih, a leading figure in their faith, had called for the removal of the veil,¹ they continued to keep to veiling and local dress codes, and although their faith does not forbid mixed assemblies, they kept separate assemblies for men and women in Baha'i gatherings in Iran, since any public act of unveiling, or any mixed gathering with men, could have endangered the safety of the entire community.

Only when they felt that the time was ripe did they push forward, publicly and openly, to implement aspects of their faith. Thus, only when the Qajar state began to encourage the opening of modern private schools did the Baha'is move in and open modern schools; and only when the Pahlavi state imposed new dress codes and allowed mixed gatherings did the Baha'is begin to remove the veil and to hold forums of mixed membership. This conduct resulted from their belief in being obedient citizens of the state in which they lived, as well as their prudence not to provide excuses for their own persecution. It should be noted that departing from old cultural habits was not easy even for some Baha'is in Iran.

Only when they believed that obeying a specific regulation or law would compromise the fundamental principles of their belief and be tantamount to recanting their faith, such as in the case of the closing of their schools and other institutions on Baha'i holidays, did they disregard such rules.

At first, the dynastic change from Qajar to Pahlavi seemed to be a positive development for the Iranian Baha'is, a considerable number of whom found their way into the Pahlavi state, which had every reason to regard them as some of its most loyal subjects – especially given their principles supporting reform, modernization and social progress, as well as their obedience to the state and abstention from politics. Such elements fitted well into the pro-reform, pro-modernization and anticlerical nationalist policies of Riza Shah. Thus, at least in the earlier years of his reign, state-run persecution of Baha'is was non-existent and Riza Shah's strong centralized state even succeeded in preventing many popular anti-Baha'i outbreaks.

However, the good fortune of the Iranian Baha'is did not last long. If the weakness of Muzaffar al-Din Shah Qajar's rule had provided them with a climate in which they could push forward and establish Baha'i schools, it was the power of the first Pahlavi state, combined with the fierce and uncompromising character of Riza Shah, and his policies, that brought about the schools' closure.

As a military man who could not stand disobedience, and as a nationalist who could not tolerate supranational loyalty, Riza Shah clashed with the Baha'is – first, for their refusal to keep their schools open on a day not declared by the state as a national holiday and, second, for their superior loyalty to their religious leader residing outside Iran, rather than to the shah, their national leader inside Iran.

As far as the Baha'is were concerned, they found themselves torn between obeying state laws and regulations (one of the tenets of their faith), on the one hand, and observing their own holidays, on the other. Between the two, they chose the latter, probably hoping to make a stand about being entitled to equal rights like the other religious minorities in Iran who were permitted to close their institutions (schools included) on their holidays. Still, while their act might not, per se, have been meant as an act of disobedience or of countering state regulations, it was nevertheless perceived as such by the state, especially since previous warnings had been given to them at least on two former occasions. It should be noted that, for the Baha'is, there was a much larger fundamental issue at stake than whether or not schools closed for a holiday. The pressure being exerted on them was perceived as an attempt to put them in a position where they would be voluntarily ceasing to observe the Baha'i holy days – in other words, the issue was being used as a tool to try to force the Baha'is to, in practice, recant their religion.

A further factor contributing to the closure of the Baha'i schools in Iran may have been the emergence of an efficiently functioning administrative system within the Baha'i community, since it was through the elected assemblies that formed part of this system that Shoghi Effendi's instructions were communicated to the community members. Nor did circumstances at the beginning of the 1930s lessen the rift that was opening up between the state and the Baha'i community in Iran. On the one hand, the visible friendly links between the Baha'i leaders and the British government, which, largely to the detriment of Riza Shah, controlled southern Iran and the Persian Gulf, as well as the activities and conspiracies of some anti-Baha'i elements close to the shah and the existence

of alternative ideologies such as communism, all seem to have fuelled Riza Shah's distrust of the Baha'is. At the same time, in order to stem popular discontent or to channel it elsewhere, away from the state, and to appease the Shi'i clerics when necessary, Riza Shah increasingly needed a scapegoat, especially when he began to introduce his radical reforms. As a minority with no official status, the Baha'is seemed to offer him the easiest and the best scapegoat, which he made use of to the utmost degree.

During the relatively short life-span of the Baha'i schools, many prominent non-Baha'i Iranians graduated from them and, having completed their higher education, came to hold important and influential positions in the public and private sectors. Nevertheless, not only has the existence of these schools, their role in the overall progress of Iran, and especially the part they played in the advancement of modern education, been disregarded by the Iranian state but surprisingly it has also been ignored by studies on Iran in general, and on modern education in Iran in particular.

The study of the Baha'i schools raises a historiographical question, which generally characterizes studies of almost every aspect of Baha'i life in Iran: the state made a systematic attempt to disregard the Baha'is, who were thus rendered more or less officially nonexistent. As this study has demonstrated, it was only permitted for Baha'i schools to be established as schools founded by individual Iranians, but without any mention made of their religious faith.

Academically, the historiographical problem that has been created by this systematic ignoring of the Baha'is makes it extremely difficult for scholars studying both primary and secondary Iranian sources to detect the Baha'i factor. The present work shows this clearly, since none of the studies on modern education in Iran has identified a single Baha'i school among the hundreds of schools that were established during the period under review. While these studies have uncovered the existence of schools established by other religious minorities and foreign concerns both religious and cultural, they have failed to identify the presence of the dozens of Baha'i schools. As part of their research on minority schools, they may well have looked for Baha'i schools as well, but found the task to be difficult because of the systematic disregard of the Baha'is, on the one hand, and unfamiliarity with Baha'i sources, on the other. The result is that even where the names of a few Baha'i schools are mentioned, such studies fail to recognize them as such.

Furthermore, if we look into the wider subject of reform in Iran, there is hardly any reference to Baha'i reformist ideas, or to the Baha'i community itself, even though it was, in effect, the only large community in the country that was not only calling for change and reform, modernization and constitutional democracy, but was actually practising these principles in daily life. It did so not only by endeavouring to establish modern schools (and thus lay the foundation of a modernized society), but also by initiating democratic elections for the local and later national assemblies (thereby laying the foundations of a democratic process) and by emphasizing the importance of education for girls (thereby making an important contribution to the emergence of the first generation of educated professional women in Iran and promoting the emancipation of Iranian women). For the Baha'is these and other progressive ideas were part of their religious beliefs, whereas the majority of Iranians were totally ignorant of them, and a minority of non-Baha'i intellectuals were merely philosophizing about those same ideas.

Regrettably, it also seems that the negative attitude towards the Baha'is on the part of the Shi'i clerics, combined with their influence and position in the society and their relations with the state, has rendered any objective study of the Baha'i community in Iran 'undesirable', to say the least. This factor could also have played some role in the relatively poor academic scrutiny of this community, especially by non-Baha'i scholars of Iran.

Additional data is needed in order to show more precisely the ratio between Baha'i and non-Baha'i students (both boys and girls) and schools (in urban and rural areas, and at primary and intermediate levels), and to compare these ratios over the entire period of the operation of the schools. It is expected and indeed hoped that, in time, as more source material is found and as further objective research and studies are undertaken on the history of the Baha'i community in Iran, these and other important data will become available to shed more light on this fascinating community, its involvement in the advent of reformist ideas, its pioneering role in implementing these ideas, and more generally, its true contribution to the progress of Iran.

APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS

Ad = Administration	LSA = Local Spiritual Assembly (<i>Mahfil-i Raubani</i>)
B = Baha'i	M = Manager
B&G = Boys and Girls	Ma = Maintenance
C = Christian	ME = Ministry of Education
C&C = Celebrations & Ceremonies	MEC = Ministry of Education's Curriculum
CE = Classes for the Elderly (<i>Akabir</i>)	Mu = Muslim
Cu = Curriculum	O = Others (Non-Baha'is)
DR = Daily Routine	OA = Other Activities
E = Exams	P = Primary (grades 1–6)
F = Founder/s	Phpu = Physical Punishment
FINA = Further Information is Not Available	P&R = Punishments & Rewards
H = Holidays	PS = Pre-School
HS = High School (grades 10–12)	Pu = Punishment
INA = Information Not Available	R = Reward
I = Intermediate (grades 7–9)	S = Superintendent
J = Jewish	T = Teacher
K = Kindergarten	TA = Teaching Accessories
LFT = Learning Facilities & Tools	TT = Temporary (or Seasonal) Teacher
Loc = Location	Z = Zoroastrian

TABLE 1

THE BAHAI SCHOOLS IN IRAN: A DATABASE

*Madrasib-yi Baba'i-yi Matanaq*¹

Matanaq, Azerbaijan; founded 1911–12 by INA

B&G; B+Mu; *Tuition*: INA

Site: In the building of Matanaq's *Hazirat al-Quds*

*Staff:*² T: ‘Abbas ‘Ali Partuvi (B classes & Persian), Mirza Mahmud Athari, Haj Mard-‘Ali, Qudrat Khadimi, ‘Aziz Sidqi Sisani, Rahim Damishqi Sisani, Fayzullah Rauhani Sisani, Haydar ‘Alizadih

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Matanaq is a village in the Bustanabad district of Tabriz. At the beginning of Muzaffar al-Din Shah’s reign it had a considerable number of Bs.

*Madrasib-yi Dukhtaranib*³

Osku, Azerbaijan; founded by Taraziyyih Samandari with Gauhar Rushani Osku’i⁴

Girls, P; 10–15 students, B+Mu; *Tuition:* Free of charge

Site: One classroom (18 sq. m), within founder’s home (in Kuchih-yi Fakhr al-Din), which had a 400 sq. m yard, with a water well & toilets

Staff: M&T: Gauhar Raushani

Curriculum: MEC + Sewing & Vocal classes; DR: Lesson started with the singing of B hymns; TA: Students sat on 3-person benches; LFT: Students made their own notebooks (from straw paper) & wrote with pencils or reed pens; H: School closed during B Hs; C&C: Took place in school during B Hs

Notes: Closed after 5 years of operation; F covered all of school’s costs.

*Madrasib-yi Sisan*⁵

Sisan, Azerbaijan; founded late 1932–early 1933 by Dr ‘Ali-Akbar & ‘Ata’iyyih Khanum Furutan

B&G, P; 700, FINA; *Tuition:* INA

Site: One building, FINA

Staff: M: Dr ‘Ali-Akbar Furutan; T: Dr Aminullah Lami’ (for 5 years); FINA

Curriculum: INA

*{Name Unknown}*⁶

Tabriz; founded 1907? (Early constitutional period) by INA (Bs of Tabriz)

P; B; *Tuition:* INA

Site: Close to Khiyaban quarter, near Bagh-i Shahzadih

Staff: INA

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Closed shortly after opening due to strong opposition by the local clerics.

*Madrasib-yi Ma‘rifat*⁷

Aran, Kashan; founded (date INA) by Aqa Mirza Mahmud Furughi

Boys, P; B+Mu, FINA; *Tuition:* 20 *riyals*

Site: 1st loc: in F’s home; 2nd loc: in a separate place; FINA

Staff: M: Muhammad-Riza Fallah; T: ‘Abd al-Husayn Mahmudi Jasbi; ‘Ali-Muhammad Lami’i; Mulla ‘Ali-Akbar Arani; Ma: A *farrash* (caretaker) named Mashhadi Qunbar (Mu)⁸

Curriculum: Religious law (*Sbar‘iyat*), Prayer Verses (*Ayat-i Mustihab*), Persian grammar (*Dastur-i Zaban-i Farsi*), Arabic, Geography, Geometry, *Chaharsad Mas‘alib* (book of 400 problems in Arithmetic), *Nisab al-Sibyan* (Arabic grammar book); classes had heater (run on wood); P&R: Phpu was used (bastinado [*falak*], ferule [*kaf-i dasti*], pressing a pencil between student’s fingers, or standing on one leg)

Notes: B students did not participate in Mu prayers.

Madrasib-yi Dukhtaranib

Aran, Kashan; founded (date INA) by Mirza Mahmud Furughi⁹

Girls, P; only B, FINA; **Tuition:** INA

Site: 1st loc: A class in Abu-Talib Bahraini’s home; 2nd loc: In the building of Aran’s *Hazirat al-Quds* (in Darb-i Masjid-i Qazi quarter)

Staff: M: Aqa Sayyid Abu al-Qasim Firdausi;¹⁰ T: Qudsi Khanum-i Mudir¹¹

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Firdausi received a very small salary from the LSA of Aran for his services.

{Name Unknown}

Ardistan; (date INA) by Mirza Aqa Rafi’i’s sons¹²

Boys P; INA; **Tuition:** INA

Site: *Maktab*-size in Bab al-Rahi (the B quarter in Ardistan)

Staff: M&T: ‘Abd al-Husayn Avarih Tafti (known as ‘Haji Shaykh’) (for 3 years), Muhammad-‘Ali Natiq Ardistani (pen-name ‘Khalis’),¹³ FINA

Curriculum: INA

*Madrasib-yi Mubarakib-yi Vabdat-i Basbar-i Banin*¹⁴

Kashan; founded in 1909 by Khajih Rabi’, Mr Natiq, Mr Nabili & Mirza Mahdi Akhavan al-Safa (assisted by LSA of Kashan)¹⁵

Boys, P+I; 220, B+Mu+J+Z (70% were non-B); **Tuition:** 3–5 *riyals* per month (students in higher grades paid slightly more than lower ones); students from poor families were exempted

Site: 1st loc: In the outer (*biruni*) section of Khajih Rabi’'s house; 2nd loc: In Kuchih-yi Rangrizan (Painters’ Alley) in Sar-i-Sang-u-Sar-i-Pillih quarter; an old building, 1,000–1,500 sq. m, with 3 cellar rooms (1 of which was for water storage), 1 upper house (*bala-khanib*, for the *farrash* & his family), 8 rooms (6 for P classes, 1 for Hebrew class & 1 for Fazil Yazdi’s residence; the latter two rooms were later used for 1st & 2nd year I)

Staff: M&S: Mirza Muhammad Natiq Ardistani (& T), ‘Abbas Mahmudi (& T), Aqa Sayyid Ibrahim Ijtahid (& T), Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Ijtahid (& T), ‘Ali-

Muhammad Nabili, Ahmad Sadiqzadih Milani, Hasan Fawadi, Shahzadih Mauzun, Muhammad Dastani (& T), Mr Sha'iq (& T), 'Ata'allah Natiq, Mr Natiqi, Ibrahim Shirvani, Monsieur Shafi' Khan (the first two managed the school for more than 20 years; the latter two were M);¹⁶ T: Fazil Yazdi (Arabic), 'Abd al-Hamid Mauzun, Aqa Sayyid Hasan Hayati, Ruhullah Kashi, 'Abbas Akrami, Husayn-'Ali Akrami, Aqa Sayyid Mihdi Qumsari (Chemistry), Aqa Sayyid Mihdi Ijtahid (Qur'an), 'Ali-Muhammad Lami'i, Suhrah & Shahab Absari, Mr Mushta'il, Mr Khuzayni, Abd al-Husayn Mahmudi, Mirza Hashim Khan Yarshatir, Mulla Matita [probably Matatyah] (a J T, who for 5 years taught the Torah to B students of J origin); Ma: Aqa Sayyid Mihdi Shimiya'i (for 15 years), Masha'allah Ni'mati (for 5 years), Imanullah Mukhtariyan (for 5 years) were the school's *farrashes*¹⁷

Curriculum: Persian, Arithmetic, Handwriting (*Khush-nivisi*), Qur'an, Arabic Etymology, Sa'di's *Gulistan*, Sciences ('*Ilm al-Asbya'*), *Akblaq-i Mussawar* (Morals in Pictures),¹⁸ Composition (*Insha'*), Geometry (*Hindisib*), English, French, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, *Nisab* (usually called *Nasb-u-Nisab*) (Accounting, especially in matters of taxation), Vocal classes, Painting (some of those classes were part of the MEC); **OA:** Sports, picnics & theatre; **DR:** Students attended school twice a day, in 2 shifts: 8–12 am & 2–4 pm; students left school together in orderly manner, leaving the column one by one, upon arrival at their homes; songs & hymns were sung in the morning; the Mu students prayed their congregational prayer (*namaz-i jama'at*) in school's carpeted cellar;¹⁹ **TA:** Blackboard, geography map, books, wooden benches; **LFT:** Half-sized sheets of paper (*nim-varaqi*), reed pen, inkpot, ink & notebook; classes had heaters (run on wood); **E:** Annually at the end of the year or twice a year (at mid & end of year) or thrice a year; school's Es & certificates were recognized by the ME; final 6th grade Es were carried out by examiners from the school & the ME; **C&C:** For graduates of 6th grade, during which they received their certificates; **P&R:** Phpu was used (*falak* & beating with ruler or whip & even 1-hour detention);²⁰ excellence cards and presents were used as means to encourage students

Notes: A school board was annually elected; its members were mainly the following: Khajih Rabi' Muttahidih (Board Chairman), Masha'allah Liqa'i, Shaykh Muhammad Mushta'il, Mr Khazin, Isma'il Baghdadi, 'Abd al-Mithaq Mithaqiyyih (in charge of budget), Muhammad Furughi, Mr Yusifiyan²¹ & Mr Shayani.²² Football was first played in this school. Sports T did rounds between a few schools. Initially there was no formal uniform, but later, during Riza Shah period, uniforms were introduced (which included a Pahlavi cap and the school's ensign). B community helped students from poor families with school-related expenses. Expenses were covered by the collection of tuition fees & donations.

*Madrasib-yi Vabdat-i Basbar-i Banat*²³

Kashan; founded (date INA) by Masha'allah Liqa'i, Fa'izih Khanum, Qudsiyyih Khanum

Girls, P; 20–30, B; **Tuition:** 5–10 *riyals* per month;²⁴ students from poor families were exempted from tuition fees

Site: 200 sq. m; an old house, located in Kuchih-yi Rangrizan, in Sar-i Pillih quarter,

which was demolished & a new building built in its place; out of the new building's 12 rooms, 4 were dedicated to the school (3 classrooms & 1 office)

Staff: **M&T:** Suraya Mahmudi (Nabili) (spouse of 'Abbas Mahmudi & sister of 'Ali-Muhammad Nabili); **S:** INA;²⁵ **T:** Badi' Lami' Qazvini, Tajmih Avarih (Nikbakht) (1st & 2nd grades), Tahirih Akrami (3rd & 4th grades), Malik al-Sultan, Tahirih Farid; **Ma:** Hamidih Khanum Zavvarih'i

Curriculum: **MEC** (Persian, Arithmetic, Penmanship, Qur'an, '*Ulm al-Asbya*' [Physics], History & Geography); **OA:** Theatre; **DR:** Students attended the school twice a day, in 2 shifts: 8–12 am & 2–6 pm; **B** hymns were sung in the mornings, before entering the classes; **TA:** Blackboard & geography maps; students sat on 40 single or 3-person wooden benches; heaters (run on wood); **C&C:** Took place mainly in order to encourage parents to send their daughters to school;²⁶ **P&R:** Phpu was rarely used;²⁷ students chanted prayers (*munajat*)

Notes: Both students and Ts wore uniforms at school (but came to & left it wearing *chadurs*); school's board (see above)²⁸ was in charge of budget.²⁹

Madrasib-yi Pisaranib-yi Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Najafabad (or Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banin)³⁰

Najafabad, Isfahan; founded in 1920–1 (or 1921–2 or 1922–3),³¹ by LSA of Najafabad (chaired by Fathullah Mudarris), & esp. 'Ali Haji Baqir, Assadullah Haji Baqir, Assadullah Khan Haji Kalb-'Ali Shahid, Assadullah Gulshani

Boys, P; 100–150,³² B & O; **Tuition:** 1–6 *riyals* per month³³

Site: 1st loc: On Firdausi St., Gulshani Alley, in Panj Chubih quarter; 1,000 sq. m;³⁴; 2nd loc: On Sa'adat St., 6 x (24–32 sq. m) classrooms, 1 office, 1 *farrash*'s room, 1 waiting room, 1 big hall (for gatherings and meetings); schoolyard had flower gardens with cypress & pine trees, & had a water well, toilets & a dry wood storage place (for fuel)

Staff: **M:**³⁵ Ahmad Shahidi (1923–34), Fathullah Mudarris, Assadullah Shahidi & Fazil Yazdi; **T:**³⁶ Yadullah Kayvani (Sports), Assadullah Rauhani, Ghulam-Husayn Samimi, Fathullah (or Lutf-'Ali) Gulshani, 'Azizullah Samimi, Mr Fasih, Badi'ullah Dirakhshan, 'Azizullah 'Irfani, Farajullah Gulshani, Husayn-'Ali Ghazali, Fathullah Furuhar, Fazil Yazdi (Arabic), Muhammad-'Ali Shaiyiq (Natiq) Ardistani, Muhammad-Sadiq Nubayrih, Fazlullah Nuri (1918–19), Fathullah Mudarris (from 1922 and after 3 years of school being closed); **Ma:** Karbala'i Davashi, Nasrullah Shauqi³⁷

Curriculum: **MEC;** **OA:** Sports,³⁸ football & local games (Thursday afternoons, grades 3–6); *Dars-i Akhlaq* classes;³⁹ **TA:** Blackboard, geography maps, 3-person benches + desks, books;⁴⁰ **LFT:** Reed pen, inkpot, ink & later also pencil; **E:** Students were evaluated through Es in the presence of their parents & Ts; 6th grade students participated in the national Es not under the school's name;⁴¹ **DR:** The bell rang 5 times per day; in the morning the students stood in rows & sang: 'Bless us O God, so that we may know You better & become Your servants'; noon prayers were also practised; **H:** School was open from 8am to 12 and again 2 pm to 6 pm, for 11 months, and had only 1 month holiday; **P&R:** Phpu was used

Notes: The 19 members of the School's Committee were mostly from the following:

Assadullah Gulshani, 'Ataullah Furutan, Yadullah Vafa'i, Farajullah Janami, 'Ali Khan Shah-Riza'i, Dr 'Ali Khan Madrak, Muhammad-Husayn Ishraqi, Assadullah Khan & Ahmad Aqa Shahidi, Jalal Sadiqi, 'Abbas-'Ali & Fathullah Bahrami, 'Abbas-'Ali Maqribi, 'Ali & Riza-Quli Haqiqi, 'Abbas & Shukrullah & Aminullah Rauhani, Hasan-'Ali Gulshani, Ni'matullah Vujdani, Nasrullah Firdausiyan & Inayatullah Janami. Uniform was not initially used. Students wore a scarf, a long garment (*qaba*) & a felt fez (*kulab-i finib-namadi*). Later, suits & Pahlavi caps (in which a crown-like pin was fixed) became customary, although not as a uniform. Students were ordered to respect each other and severe punishments were inflicted on those who cursed other students. Once every few days supervisors from the Ministry of Education visited the school.⁴²

*Madrasib-yi Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banat*⁴³

Najafabad, Isfahan; founded in 1925–6⁴⁴ by LSA of Najafabad

Girls, P; 400–460, B (320–380) & Mu (80); **Tuition:** Tuition; students from poor families were exempted; FINA

Site: 1st loc (founded in 1925–6, & run for the first 3 years):⁴⁵ Near the public cemetery, 1,200–1,500 sq. m; 7 classrooms, 1 office, 1 for M's & 1 for *farrash*'s residence; schoolyard was empty of any greenery & contained a toilet & water-well; 2nd loc (founded in 1928):⁴⁶ Adjacent to the boys' school on Sa'adat St.; 6 classrooms, 1 office, 2 residences (for M or S, and for the *farrash*), a large court, water well, toilets, shower (for M's or S's use) & dry wood storage place (for fuel)

Staff: M: Thabitih Khanum Sadiqiyān (or Sadiqi) (& T of 6th grade); S: Saniyyih Khanum Sadiqiyān (or Sadiqi) (& T of Sewing, Painting & Embroidery classes);⁴⁷ T: Qudsiyyih Khanum Khadim (Subhi), Shah-Baygum Ghazali, Nayyirih Furutan (Janami), 'Izzat Tabibi, Mihrangiz Ishaqi, Muhtaram Rasti, Miss Gulshani, Rubabih Zari', Ishraqiyyih Khanum (daughter of Thabit Maraghhi'i);⁴⁸ Ma: Ghulam-'Ali Mashhad (lived at the school with his spouse, Mah-Sultan)

Curriculum: MEC + Islamic *Fiqh* (*Shar'iyat*), Physics (*Ulm al-Ashya'*), Health & Hygiene (*Hifz al-Sabib*), Qur'an, Arabic Literature (*Fara'id al-Adab*), Persian, History & Geography, Painting, Arithmetic & Geometry, Grammar (*Sarf-u-Nahv*), Calligraphy, Sewing, Embroidery (*Gulduzi va Burudrib-duzi*); **OA:** Light physical exercises (*Narmish*); teaching B poems (*surudba-yi Amri*) (occasionally); **LFT:** Pencil, reed pen, inkpot, ink, notebooks (prepared by the students from sheets of paper); **E:** 2 or 3 times a year; students were given certificates;⁴⁹ **DR:** Prayers chanted every morning, during which the students had to stand still, with their hands on their chest; students attended the school twice a day (2 shifts); **H:** School was open for 11 months, and had only 1 month holiday; **P&R:** Phpu was used; students were also kept after school hours as punishment and released only after the arrival of their parents; excellent students were exempted from paying tuition fees; **CE:** One class, twice a week, primarily for 6 housewives, in the office & off the school's hours; later, when the number of students increased, the class was moved to the house of Dr Mujaz, a leading local B; the students acquired a sufficient level in reading & writing (including writing letters)

Notes: The 19-member committee of the Madrasah-yi Pisanrah-yi Sa'adat-i Milli-yi

Najafabad was also responsible for the Madrasah-yi Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banat. Uniform was used (students came to and left the school wearing *chadurs*).⁵⁰ There were 15–20 older students who also joined the regular classes. In spite of their illiteracy, but because of their age, they were 'upgraded' to the 2nd grade, but were also taught 1st grade material and given extra teaching hours. Mu noon prayers (*namaz-i jama'at*) were regularly held, and during the month of Ramazan the Qur'an was regularly read. Since the school was not officially recognized, it did not receive any assistance or support from the ME.⁵¹

{Name Unknown}

Faran,⁵² Khurasan; founded (date INA) by Shah Khalilullah Rahmani

Early P, FINA; Initially 20, but later grew in number, B; **Tuition:** 5 *qirans* per month⁵³

Site: INA

Staff: M & T: Mirza Qudratullah Khan (Mihir-Ayin)

Curriculum: INA

Madrasah-yi Tavakkul-i Banin

Qazvin, Zanjan; founded in 1906 by Mirza 'Abdullah & Mirza Muhammad Khan Taslimi & Mirza Tarazullah Samandari⁵⁴

INA, P; INA, INA⁵⁵

Site: INA

Staff: M & T: Mirza 'Abdullah Taslimi, Sultan-Jalal Khazi', Muhammad Saha'i, Sultan Habibullah Muslih, Muhammad Labib, Mirza Ahmad Khan Farzanih, Mirza 'Abd al-Husayn Samandari, Mirza Nasrullah Khan Jahrumi, Haji Sayf al-Zakirin, A'lam al-Huda Razavi, 'Abd al-'Ali Khan 'Ala'i, Vahid Kashfi (Lisan al-Huzur), Mirza 'Ata'ullah Samandari, Mirza Muhammad Samandari, and others⁵⁶

Curriculum: English, Esperanto, Photography & B Moral Education classes (*Dars-i Akhlaq*);⁵⁷ FINA

Notes: A branch of Shirkat-i Sahami-yi Nau-Nahalan opened in Qazvin.⁵⁸

Madrasah-yi Tavakkul-i Banat

Qazvin, Zanjan; founded 30 June 1909⁵⁹ by M & Ts of the Madrasah-yi Tavakkul-i Banin & Mahfil-i Shura-yi Qazvin (Qazvin's Baha'i Consultative Assembly)⁶⁰

Girls, FINA;⁶¹ **Tuition:** Tuition; FINA

Site: 1st loc: Within the premises of the *Mashriq al-Azkar* of Qazvin; 2nd loc: moved to a larger place⁶²

Staff: M & T: Taraziyyih Samandari (Farhadi) (served for 19–20 years, until November 1927); S: Vaqariyyih Taslimi; T: Malih Bahar; FINA

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Ts received very low pay. Taraziyyih Samandari also initiated educational classes for women (*kilas-i akabir-i nisvan*) and encouraged B women to quit smoking, which was, at that time, still a regular feature even among Bs.⁶³

Madrasib-yi Pisanarib-yi Husayniyyib

Sangsar,⁶⁴ Semnan; founded in 1911–12 or 1917–18⁶⁵ by Mulla Yusif⁶⁶ & LSA of Sangsar

Boys, P;⁶⁷ INA, B & O;⁶⁸ **Tuition:** Students from poor families were exempted from paying tuition fees

Site: 1st loc: The B quarter, Tappih-Sar; had 2 classes, an extensive yard & toilets;⁶⁹ 2nd loc: At Muhammad Subhani's residence;⁷⁰ loc changed at least 3 times, most premises were rented;⁷¹ FINA

Staff: M: Mulla 'Abd al-'Ali Mu'allim (& T), Allah-Quli Subhani (& T), Badi'ullah Parsa, Aqa Mirza Husayn 'Asgari Bashruih'i & Varqa Vahdat (during 1933–4),⁷² Sulayman Salimi & 'Ali Suhayliyan (for the last 5 years of school before final closure); T: 'Avaz-Muhammad Jazbani,⁷³ Masihullah Fana'iyan (1st grade),⁷⁴ Muhammad-Riza Rahmaniyan (2nd grade), Shahid Sa'id 'Ali-Akbar Mu'ini (3rd grade), Mr 'Abbasi (4th grade),⁷⁵ & Mr Salimi (5th & 6th grades),⁷⁶ Aqa Mirza Husayn Gulastani⁷⁷

Curriculum: At the beginning Cu contained the following classes: Arithmetic (up to the 4 basic mathematical operations), Dictation (*Diktib*), Correspondence (*Murasilat*), Qur'an, Numerical Alphabet (*Abjad*), Calligraphy, Composition (*Insha'*), etc; later, it followed MEC;⁷⁸ OA: Plays (mainly during B holidays); TA: Blackboard, 3-person school benches + desks; LFT: Pencil, reed pen & notebooks;⁷⁹ classes had heaters (run on wood or oil); DR: Prayers were chanted (those of 'Abdu'l-Baha) every morning, while students stood in lines & before going to class; singing the national anthem was also practised; H: Islamic religious ceremonies were not practised in school, but during Islamic Hs the school closed; occasionally, during the B holidays, the school threw parties; P&R: Phpu was practised;⁸⁰ Rs (pencils, notebooks, etc.) were given as presents in order to encourage students

Notes: There were two rounds of six grades, each under the direction of Subhani and Jazbani, and excellent students from upper grades helped them in teaching.⁸¹ The school closed in 1927–8, with the foundation of the first state school in Sangsar (and probably burned down & was demolished in the same year).⁸² All the equipment, facilities and material of the B school were confiscated & transferred to the Shah-Pasand State School.⁸³ When B schools throughout Iran were closed in Dec. 1934, the local B community continued to run the school unofficially.⁸⁴

Madrasib-yi Dukbtaranib-yi Tarbiyat

Sangsar, Semnan; founded in 1927–8⁸⁵ (1st loc) & 1946–7/1947–8 (2nd loc) by Aqa 'Ali-Muhammad Rahmaniyan & LSA of Sangsar

Girls, P; 180, B & O; **Tuition:** 15–30 *riyals*, according to the grade

Site: Up to 1927–8 (closure of Sangsar's B Boys' School), loc changed annually, moving from the house of one B to another. In 1927–8 moved into its 1st official loc: The premises of the boys' school (located in the B quarter, Tappih-Sar), which included a large yard & 2 rooms (3x4 m), in which students sat in 3 rows, each row studying a different subject (thus 6 classes in 2 rooms);⁸⁶ 2nd loc: In Papalu quarter, a 2-storey school was built on a land donated by a B named 'Ali-Muhammad Rahmaniyan,

which included 6 rooms (180–200 sq. m; one office, one residence for one of the Ts & 4 classrooms) & a yard (100 sq. m, with toilets, a storage room for dry wood & room for *farrash's* residence)⁸⁷

Staff: Before 1927–8: The different *maktab-dars* taught & managed their *maktabs*;⁸⁸ after 1927–8: **M:** Zinat Askari (till 1946–7), Tahirih Khanum Kiyani (till 1948–9), Atiyyih Haqiqi (till 1951–2/1952–3), Ruhaniyyih Khushnudiyan (till 1954–5/1955–6), Munirih Parsa (for 1 year) & Athariyyih Gulastani (for 1 year); **S:** Each M selected one T as S; Miss Parsa & Miss Gulastani changed roles, with one becoming S while the other was M;⁸⁹ **T:** Mu'allimih Khanum Subhani (1st & 2nd grades); Varqa'iyiyh Subhani (3rd & 4th grades); & Vujdaniyyih, Rahmaniyyih, Rizvaniyyih & Munirih Parsa;⁹⁰ **Nisa'** 'Arab & 'Ata'iyiyh Iqani (both for 1 year), Athariyyih Gulastani, Tayyibih Liqa'i; **TT:** Ruhaniyyih Rahmaniyan, Tahirih Rushani, Rakhshandih Rahmaniyan & Sharaf Mumtazi⁹¹

Curriculum: At the beginning was not according to MEC, and included Letters & Numbers (*Huruf va A'dad*) (1st grade), Addition & Subtraction (*Jam' va Tafriq*) (2nd grade), etc.; when the school became official, Cu was according to MEC (History, Geography, Islamic Law, Literature, Physics, etc.), and in addition: Embroidery, Crocheting, Knitting, Sewing, Cooking & Lace making; **OA:** Calligraphy (*Rasm al-Khatt*), Painting (*Naqqashi*), Sports, Light Exercises & holding sport matches (latter two occasionally); *Kalimat-i Maknunih* (Hidden Words)⁹² classes were initially taught, but those (& any other B religious classes) stopped after *Dars-i Akhlaq* classes were introduced; B & O hymns & songs; **TA:** 1st loc school had benches (without desk); 2nd loc school had both + blackboards; **E:** 2 or 3 times a year;⁹³ students received certificates, & excellent students received prizes (pencils, books, etc.) at the year's end;⁹⁴ **DR:** Morning prayers were chanted while students stood in rows before class; during later years (probably during Riza Shah period & onwards) the national anthem was sung as well; **P&R:** Phpu was practised in the beginning, but gradually decreased; lazy students were kept at school till they had prepared their homework⁹⁵

Notes: The LSA of Sangsar was in charge of the school's affairs & budget. School's students & staff wore uniforms. Sometimes, during the Hs, students prepared lunch & invited the Ts to eat with them. In the festivities marking the end of the school year, parents, members of the LSA & the school's staff participated. Prizes were given to excellent students. Unlike other B schools, this school did not close down in 1934, but was run unofficially by the local B community, together with the boys' school, for 20 years more, till its final closure in 1955–6.⁹⁶

***Madrasib-yi Pisanib-yi Tarbiyat* (also known as *Madrasib-yi Tarbiyat-i Banin*)**

Tehran; founded in 1899–1900 by a group of well-known Bs, among whom were Dr Muhammad Khan Munajjim Tafrishi, the father of Major-General Shu'a'ullah 'Ala'i, Sayyid Muhammad Nazim al-Ataba', Dr 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish, Mirza Hasan Adib, Mirza Muhammad-Taqi ibn-Abhar & Asif al-Hukama'

Boys, PS+P+I+HS;⁹⁷ 750–1,200,⁹⁸ B & O; **Tuition:** 7.5–12 *qirans/riyals*; students from poor families were exempted⁹⁹

Site: 1st loc: Southern Tehran; 2nd loc: (1911) moved to northern Tehran (on Sipah St.,¹⁰⁰ opposite the royal palace), 1,000 sq. m, composed of 2 yards of about equal size, a secretariat, & M's office; first yard had: classes, a big shallow pool, dining room, toilets, a storage room & an 'apology board' (*takbtih ma'zirat-khahi*) used to punish students; 2nd yard included: classes for the privileged and excellent students,¹⁰¹ a storage room, toilets. Classes had 40–50 students each

Staff: M: Dr Muhammad Khan Munajjim Tafrishi (for first 6 years), Dr Ata'ullah Bakhshayish (from 1906 to probably during or after WWI), Azizullah Misbah (up to the beginning of 1934, 3–4 months before closure of B schools),¹⁰² Dr 'Ali-Akbar Furutan (beginning of 1934 till closure of school) & Ahmad Yazdani;¹⁰³ S: Mirza Muhammad-'Ali Khan Baha'i, Mirza Farajullah Khan Pirzadih, Mirza Fathullah Khan,¹⁰⁴ Mr Nabili, 'Ali-Akbar Furutan & Mirza Yusif Khan Vujdani;¹⁰⁵ T: Azizullah Misbah (Arabic & French), Lillian Kappes (English), Fazil Shirazi¹⁰⁶ (Arabic), 'Abd al-Husayn Shahidzadih (Mathematics),¹⁰⁷ Aqa Shaykh Haydar Mu'allim, Mirza Muhammad Natiq Ardistani (for 2 months in 1934–5), Mr Vahdat (1st grade), Mr Afsahi (2nd grade), Mr Jahanbakhsh & Mr Basiri (4th grade), 'Ali-Asghar Furutan (5th grade), Niru Sina & Aqa Mirza Jamal al-Din (6th grade), 'Ali-Muhammad Varqa (History & Geography, 7th grade), Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas 'Alavi, Masih Farhangi, Shaykh Muhsin Na'ini, Mirza Ni'matullah Bayza'i, Zikrullah Khadim, Nasrullah Mauvaddat, Dr Murtiza Danish Ardakani, Muhammad Dastani, Ahmad Yazdani, Nasrullah Rastigar Taliqani, Haji Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidin Abrari, Mirza 'Ata'ullah Samandari & Yusif Vahid Kashfi; Ad & Ma: Mirza Yusif Vujdani (accountant) & Aqa Shukrullah (cleaning & establishing contact between school's staff & the students' parents)

Curriculum: MEC + Calligraphy, Painting, Sports,¹⁰⁸ Arabic, French;¹⁰⁹ TA: School-benches + desks, a separate table & chair for the teacher, blackboard, geography maps, a laboratory (for I & HS students);¹¹⁰ LFT: Books, notebooks, pencils, reed pens; classes had heaters;¹¹¹ E: Students did their Es while sitting apart from each other & on separate chairs; DR: Morning prayers (usually chanted by B students); P&R: phpu did not exist or was very rarely applied;¹¹² Pu's included standing before the 'apology board' located in the yard, & reading an essay of apology; or holding a soccer ball on the head; polite & successful students received encouragement certificates, marked by excellence grades (*afarin*) of 1, 10, 100 & 1,000. In 1933–4 a foreign circus was asked to perform before the school's students¹¹³

Notes: A management committee, composed of some of the Fs, as well as other B (Mir Aminullah Baqiruv, Jalal Zabih Kashani, Muhammad-'Ali Khan Baha'i, Mirza Yusif Khan Vujdani & others), were in charge of the school's affairs. Students wore uniforms.¹¹⁴ Ts received very low pay.¹¹⁵

Maktab-Khanib-yi Mu'allimib Khanum

Tehran; founded before 1912, FINA, by Sayyid Bigum (known as 'Mu'allimih Khanum')

Girls, B; INA; **Tuition:** INA

Site: Bagh-i Firdaus

Staff: M&T: F

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Closed after F moved to teach in Madrasah-yi Ta'yidiyyih & Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Dukhtaranih.

Madrasah-yi Ta'yidiyyih-yi Dushbizigan-i Vatan

Tehran; founded before 1912, FINA, by Munirih Khanum Ayadi (Sabih)¹¹⁶

Girls, P; INA, B & O

Site: Sar-i Qabr-i Aqa quarter, FINA

Staff: M: F; S: Qudsiyyih Khanum (& T); T: F's sisters, Shaykh al-Ra'is's daughter,¹¹⁷ Miss Hijazi, Bahirih Khanum & Mu'allimih Khanum (Arabic)

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Closed due to the deteriorating health of F's husband

Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Dukhtaranih (also known as *Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banat*)

Tehran; founded in 1912 by Dr 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish¹¹⁸

Girls, P+I (up to the 9th grade); 750,¹¹⁹ mostly B & Mu,¹²⁰ but also O; *Tuition:* 8–15 *qirans* (according to the grade); students from poor families were exempted¹²¹

Site: Near the above, in Bazar-i Aqa Shaykh Hadi quarter. The entire school's grounds was 1,000 sq. m, while the 2-storey building itself was 250 sq. m; school had 2 yards: A big one in front of the building, & a small one in the back, where a kindergarten was located; barrels were filled with drinking water and placed in various places in the yards; storage room for dry wood (for heating); classes were located in the yard & in the building; a big hall & a big dining table for lunch

Staff: M: Dr Muhammad Khan Munajjim Tafrihi,¹²² Dr 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish (for 10 years),¹²³ Lillian Kappes (& T; 1912–20),¹²⁴ Qudsiyyih Ashraf (1920–1),¹²⁵ Dr Genevieve Coy (1921–3),¹²⁶ Adelaide Sharp (1928–35),¹²⁷ S: Khanum Buzurg, Ruhangiz Fath-i A'zam (& T); T:¹²⁸ Ishrat Khanum (Chemistry & Physics), 'Iffat Khanum (Geography & History) & Muluk Khanum,¹²⁹ Kamaliyyih Sahihi (5th grade & Sewing), Nasrin Sahihi (Dictation, Persian & Composition),¹³⁰ Muluk & Malihih Zabih (lower grades), Shamsi Khanum (4th grade), Ruhangiz Fath-i A'zam, Lillian Kappes & Adelaide Sharp (all the latter 3 taught English), Vafa'iyih Madhat (Geometry, Arithmetic, Physics & Chemistry for HS), Mu'allimih Khanum (Arabic), Masturih Khanum Haqiqi, Dr Sarah Clock & Elizabeth Stewart); *Ma:* 1 man (responsible for the Ma of the heaters, drinking-water barrels, etc) & 1 woman (mainly cleaning)¹³¹

Curriculum: MEC such as Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Physics, Chemistry, Arabic, *Madarij al-Qira'a* (degrees of reading), etc. + English, Sewing & Cooking (the latter two, once a week each), Sports (games prevalent at the time, such as ball playing or rope skipping; OA: Students were taken on out-of-school scientific observations (such as to agricultural fields, in order to observe agricultural machinery & large gardens);¹³² TA: All classes contained a blackboard, geography map, 3-person

benches;¹³³ **LFT**: Pencil, reed pen, French pen (*qalam-i Faransib*),¹³⁴ ink, & notebooks;¹³⁵ classes had heaters (run on wood); **E**: Every 6 months, with students from the upper classes orally examining the students from lower classes. The content & place of the final Es were set by the ME; students received certificates; **DR**: At 7:30 am all students were in line in the schoolyard (during winter this was done in the school's big hall), and sang B hymns;¹³⁶ **P&R**: Misbehaving students were called out of the rows, & at times also beaten with a ruler on their hands; 1st, 2nd & 3rd outstanding, as well as most orderly, students of each class received prizes

Notes: School was run by the B community but was under the supervision of the ME.

Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banin

Abadih, Fars; founded in 1915–6 (1st loc) 1919 (2nd loc) by Haji 'Ali Khan (1st loc), Dr Badi'ullah Agah, Dr Husayn Agah (Zia' al-Hukama'), Tal'at Khanum Vafa¹³⁷ (2nd loc), Dr Badi'ullah Agah¹³⁸ (3rd & 4th loc)

Boys, P+I;¹³⁹ INA, B (60%) & Mu (40%); **Tuition**: (monthly); no fixed rates were used, & each family paid according to its ability, with poor families being exempted

Site: 1st loc: In a building built by Haji 'Ali Khan, located midway between Abadih & Himmatabad; 6 smaller classrooms (2x3 m) and 1 bigger (7x3 m) room (for E); a 1,000 sq. m dusty yard (mainly used as a playground); a storage room for dry wood (for heating); 2nd loc:¹⁴⁰ Outside of Abadih, in a place known as 'Qal'ih-yi Nasrullah Khan'; had more rooms than 1st loc (FINA); extensive yard; water well; 3rd loc:¹⁴¹ Formerly a place of pilgrimage, known as 'Hadiqat al-Rahman' or 'Bagh-i Hakim',¹⁴² FINA; 4th loc: Near the Hasan Khani public bath

Staff: **M**: Drs Badi'ullah & Husayn Agah (2nd loc), Sadr al-Din Dirakhshan, Dr Masih Agah, Mirza, & Mirza Assadullah Fatimi; **S**: Dr Imanatullah Raushan; **T**: Inayatullah Suhrab, Sayyid Mihdi Dana (Religious classes, Qur'an & Calligraphy), Sadr al-Din Dirakhshan,¹⁴³ 'Abd al-Husayn Bahmani, Imanatullah Raushan, Inayatullah Safa, Mirza Husayn Ashraf, Zabih Qurban; **Ma**: Kaka (servant) Husayn Farrash

Curriculum: **MEC**; **OA**: On Fridays, *Dars-i Akhlaq* classes were held for the B students; **TA**: All schools (in all 4 loc) had blackboards, 3-person wooden benches & geography maps; **DR**: B hymns sung in the mornings; attendance was twice a day, in the following shifts: 8–11 am & 2–4 pm; **P&R**: Phpu was used; in the evenings, before departure for home, lazy students were called in front of the rows & punished (with the assistance of the school's *farrash*); Phpu was greatly reduced during Masih Agah's term as M¹⁴⁴

Notes: No uniform was used.¹⁴⁵

Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banat

Abadih, Fars; founded in 1920¹⁴⁶ by Tal'at Khanum Vafa¹⁴⁷ & Dr Badi'ullah Agah
Girls, P; INA, mostly B & a few Mu; **Tuition**: INA

Site: Qal'ih-yi Haji 'Ali Khan

Staff: **M**: Tal'at Khanum (assisted by Dr Husayn Khan Agah, Zia' al-Hukama', Ruha

Furuzan & Ruhangiz Zargham); T:¹⁴⁸ Ruhangiz Zargham, Bahiyyih Safa'i, Ruhangiz Salmanpur, Jamilih Hamidi (Vujdani), Qamar Agha Dirakhshan, Fakhr-i Iran Zabihi, Aqdas Daragahi

Curriculum: MEC

Madrasib-yi Nau-Bunyard-i Mansuri

Nayriz, Fars; founded during the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–6,¹⁴⁹ by Mansur al-Saltanih¹⁵⁰

[Type] INA; INA (most probably B, given the fact that Nayriz was a heavily B populated place); *Tuition:* INA (probably tuition free, for this was a state school, although founded and run by Bs)

Site: INA

Staff: M: Mirza 'Abd al-Husayn Bazyar;¹⁵¹ T: Aqa Muhammad Hashim (Shaykh Aqa), known as 'Fazil Qasr al-Dashti' (Arabic T) & later also Amir Hisami;¹⁵² FINA

Curriculum: MEC

Notes: It became the best of all schools in the province of Fars.¹⁵³

{Name Unknown}

Shiraz, Fars; founded (date INA) by Mirza Aqa Khan Bashir al-Sultan¹⁵⁴

[Type] INA; INA, B; *Tuition:* INA

Site: INA

Staff: INA

Curriculum: INA

Notes: It was the first school to open in Shiraz.

{Name Unknown}

Sangar-i Kahumat, Gilan; founded in 1915 by Aqa Sayyid Ashraf Haravi

INA, P; INA, B; *Tuition:* INA

Site: INA

Staff: M&T: F (who came to be known as 'Sayyid Mu'allim')

Curriculum: INA

Notes: The school was a B *maktab-khanih*.

Madrasib-yi 'Arabkhayl

'Arabkhayl,¹⁵⁵ Mazandaran; founded in 1919 by Maliki Jahan & her husband, 'Ali Dadash (known as 'Guilak'), with the good offices of the LSA of 'Arabkhayl¹⁵⁶

B&G (till 1933–4),¹⁵⁷ P (grades 1–4 only),¹⁵⁸ 15–20, B (most) & Mu (very few);

Tuition: No tuition fees were charged at the beginning, but after a few years, a tuition fee of 1–3 *riyals* was collected¹⁵⁹

Site: The school was in a 9x4 m room, located in a 1,000 sq. m building (which had a 3,000 sq. m yard in front of it)¹⁶⁰

Staff: M&S&T:¹⁶¹ Mirza Hidayatullah Ghazanfari, Sayyid Ibrahim 'Idalati, Mirza Furughullah Basari, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Shari'atmadar, Mirza Vajihullah Khan Mu'addab Yazdi (1921–2/1922–3), Muhammad-Taqi Ru'uf (1932–3/1933–4), 'Abdullah Quddusi (1934–5/1935–6), Hibbullah Assadiyan (1936–7/1937–8), Mirza Rahmatullah Kathiri (grandson of F), Mirza Mujtaba & Aqa Ibrahim Farhangpur;¹⁶²
Ma: A *farrash*, who was in charge of the cleaning & other affairs

Curriculum: Like most of the P schools of that period, after 2–3 years of learning how to read & write & the 4 basic mathematical operations, the students studied the books of the ME, which included the following subjects: Persian, History, Physics, Geography, Mathematics & Geometry, *Siyaq* & Calligraphy; **OA:** *Dars-i Akhlaq* classes were given to B children on Fridays by B propagator (*muballighin*), who stayed for 3–6 months in the area; **LFT:** Reed pen, pencil & thick paper at the beginning, but in later years also notebooks & Pahlavi pen (*qalam-i Pahlavi*);¹⁶³ **E:** Only at the end of each year, where reps of the LSA, together with the students' parents, supervised the E sessions; also a T came from either Mashhadsar (Babulsar) or Barfurush (Babul) as examiner; each day 1 or 2 classes were examined; Es were both oral & in writing; **DR:** Students attended the school twice: From morning till noon, & after lunch till sunset; upon arrival at school, they stood in rows & then dispersed to their classes without any specific procedures (such as singing hymns, etc.); There were four 30-minute breaks per day, 2 in the morning & 2 in the afternoon; **P&R:** Phpu as well as writing punishments were used; **H:** The school closed during B & Mu holidays¹⁶⁴

Notes: No uniform was enforced. T's salary was 9 *tumans* at the beginning & 30 in 1937–8; LSA of 'Arabkhayl covered the cost of Ts' salary & the school's budget deficits.¹⁶⁵

*Madrasah-yi Sa'adat-i 'Umumiyyih-yi Barfurush*¹⁶⁶

Babul (formerly Barfurush), Mazandaran; founded in 1911–12¹⁶⁷ by Mirza Mustafa Khan Nuri (son of Mahmud Khan Muftakh al-Mulk)¹⁶⁸

Boys, P (grades 1–4 only);¹⁶⁹ 30, B+Mu+J+C+Z;¹⁷⁰ **Tuition:** No tuition fees were charged

Site: In the building of Babul's *Hazirat al-Quds* (in the Lur quarter); a small hall used as classroom & one room for the *farrash*¹⁷¹

Staff: M: Aqa Ruhullah Tihrani (known as 'Khadim'), Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidin Abrari,¹⁷² Muhammad-'Ali Payrauvan, 'Ali Suhayliyan;¹⁷³ **S:** No such post existed in that school;¹⁷⁴ **T:** Aqa Ruhullah Tihrani, Mr Dilmaqani, Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidin Abrari, 'Ali Suhayliyan;¹⁷⁵ **Ma:** first *farrash* was Mr Jalili (Mu), who was responsible for the cleaning & resided in a little room adjacent to the class hall

Curriculum: First Reading & Writing then subjects such as Persian (*Kalila-u-Dimna*), Arithmetic & Geometry, Arabic, Geography, History, Hygiene, Physics & Calligraphy;¹⁷⁶ **LFT:** Fine- & thick-nibbed reed pens, pencil & thick paper called *16-tabaqih'i* (16-layer paper), which was later replaced by regular notebooks¹⁷⁷

Notes: No uniform was enforced, but much stress was given to the cleanliness of the clothes. Expenses were covered through donations & the LSA.¹⁷⁸

{Name Unknown}

Babul/Barfurush, Mazandaran; founded, INA by INA

Girls, P (probably as above); [Number & Religion] INA; **Tuition:** INA

Site: INA (probably also in the building of Babul's *Hazirat al-Quds*)

Staff: T: Qamar Khanum Mumtazi¹⁷⁹

Curriculum: INA

Madrasib-yi Bihnamir

Bihnamir,¹⁸⁰ Mazandaran,¹⁸¹ founded in 1916–17 by Sayyid Muhammad-Riza Shahmirzadi,¹⁸² Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir & Sayyid Sami¹⁸³

Boys (only at first, but after 10–15 years girls also attended),¹⁸⁴ P; 20–30, B & Mu; **Tuition:** fees were collected, but students from poor families (whether B or Mu) were exempted from its payment

Staff: M&S&T:¹⁸⁵ Sayyid Sami' Kanuchali (M; first T & only for a few months); Manuchihr Khan, Fathullah Mazlumi, Aqa Fayzullah Sabitiyan, Muhammad-Taqi Ru'uf (from Barfurush/Babul), Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Shari'atmadar (son of Babul's *Shari'atmadar-i Kabir*), Aqa Qudratullah Yusufzadih, 'Ali Jan Kazimzadih, Ishraqiyyih Humayuni, Muhammad-Riza Tirgari, Aqa Hibbullah Asadiyan, Aqa Gul-Aqa Taqva'i, Aqa Hishmatullah Assadiyan & Aqa Ruhullah Mihrabkhani;¹⁸⁶ **Ma:** Students participated in the cleaning of the school

Site: In the *Hazirat al-Quds* of Bihnamir, located in the Darab Din district of Bihnamir; students studied in the 3 rooms of the building¹⁸⁷

Curriculum: After learning reading & writing, & the 4 basic mathematical operations, students were taught the following subjects: Calligraphy, Persian, History, Geography, Mathematics, *Siyaq*, Dictation (*Imla'*), Hygiene (*Hifz al-Sabih*), Sciences (*Ilm al-Ashya'*) & *Dars-i Akhlaq* classes;¹⁸⁸ **TA:** Wooden benches; **LFT:** Black ink, reed pen, pencil & thick paper, which was gradually replaced by notebooks; **E:** Students underwent written & oral Es every 6 months in the presence of the members of the LSA, their parents & a group of educated people; **DR:** Students studied all days of the week except Fridays; students attended the school twice a day: from morning to noon, went home for lunch, & returned to school around 2 pm & stayed there until sunset;¹⁸⁹ every morning students stood in rows & sang songs;¹⁹⁰ **H:** School always closed during B holidays¹⁹¹

Notes: No uniform was enforced. The LSA of Bihnamir covered all budget deficits.¹⁹²

School did not close in 1934 with all the other B schools because the Bs of Bihnamir introduced it as a *maktab-khanib*.¹⁹³

*Madrasib-yi Himmat-i Aratih*¹⁹⁴

Bur-Khayl-i Aratih,¹⁹⁵ Mazandaran; founded in 10 October 1925¹⁹⁶ by Mirza Lutf-'Ali Khan Majd ul-Ataba¹⁹⁷

Boys (& Girls?), P (grades 1–3 or 4);¹⁹⁸ INA, B & Mu; **Tuition:** 3 *riyals* per month

Site: 1st loc (up to the first closure of the school): An empty house, with 3 rooms & a kitchen, which was renovated & carpeted with mat; 2nd loc (from reopening of the school): In the house of Aqa 'Abd al-Nasir;¹⁹⁹ 3rd loc: In the house of Mir Qasim Iqani²⁰⁰

Staff: M&S: No such posts existed, & the T performed those duties in addition to teaching; **T:** Mirza 'Abd al-'Ali Shahab Shahmirzadi (for 5 years), Aqa 'Abd al-Mithaq (known as 'Zia' al-Din') (for 2 years),²⁰¹ Mirza Ahmad (for 1 year),²⁰² Aqa Haji Izad-Panah (for 5 years),²⁰³ Mir Qasim Iqani (for 4 years);²⁰⁴ **Ma:** No specific *farrash* existed, & cleaning duties were the responsibility of the students & the T's spouse

Curriculum: After the students mastered Reading & Writing (about first 2–3 years at school), they began to study additional subjects such as Geography, History, Arithmetic, Geometry, Physics & *Dars-i Akblaq*;²⁰⁵ **LFT:** Reed pen (fine & thick), pencil & notebook; **DR:** After the bell rang for the first time in the morning, the students stood in rows; then the Ts inspected students' cleanliness, & morning prayers were chanted;²⁰⁶ the students then entered class & sat on the mat in rows, with each row representing a different grade; the Ts asked all students questions & gave exercises; the school closed for lunch & reopened at 1:30 or 2:00 pm, after the students had returned from their homes & they stayed at school until sunset; school was open during all 4 seasons, & on every day of the week except Friday & B holidays

Notes: No uniform was enforced. No age limit existed to attend the school. School's budget deficit was covered by the F, Majd al-Ataba'. T's salary was 12–15 *tumans* per month.²⁰⁷

{Name Unknown}

Chalih-Zamin & Saru-Kula,²⁰⁸ Mazandaran; founded in 1927–8 by LSA of Chalih-Zamin²⁰⁹

B&G, P (grades 1–4)²¹⁰; 16–20, B & Mu (most); **Tuition:** No tuition fees were charged

Site: 1st loc (first 5 years): In the house of Sayyid Muhammad-Riza (who survived the Shaykh Tabarsi incident), in Chalih-Zamin, with one 3x4 m room & a kitchen; 2nd loc (the following 5 years): first in the *takiyyih* (religious meeting house) of Saru-Kula & then in the house of Mr Ahmadzadigan, one of the rooms of which was turned into a classroom; 3rd loc (the next 5 years): In the house of Mr 'Inayatullah Vidad in Chalih-Zamin²¹¹

Staff: M&S: No such posts existed, & the T performed those duties in addition to teaching; **T:** Ihsanullah Izad-Panah (for 5 years), Zia' al-Din Mazlumi (for 1 year) & then Malik Nisa Mithaqi Shahmirzadi, together with Ihsanullah Izad-Panah (apparently for the following 4 years, during which the school remained in Saru-Kula), 'Ata'ullah 'Ata'iyani (for the first year after the return of school to Chalih-Zamin, circa 1938–9; & then from 1941, after the beginning of WWII in Iran, for another 4 years & until the nationalization of the school);²¹² **Ma:** The school did not have a *farrash*, & students were given the duty of cleaning it

Curriculum: Calligraphy, Persian, Dictation, Geography, History, Arithmetic & Geometry; **TA:** For 1st & 2nd grades a book titled *Tabiyyih* (Preparation) & for 3rd &

4th grades a book titled *Sad Dars* (100 Lessons) was used; the former book included all subjects for P teaching (probably reading & writing, & the 4 basic arithmetic operations), while the latter book included all Cu subjects, with the exception of Calligraphy; at first students sat on mats, but later (during 'Ata'ullah 'Ata'iyan's term as T) wooden benches were made;²¹³ **LFT**: Reed pen (fine & thick), ink, pencil, notebook & calligraphy notebooks;²¹⁴ **DR**: School was open every day except Friday, all year round; students attended the school twice per day, in the morning & in the afternoon

Notes: No uniform was enforced. The LSAs of Chalih-Zamin, Saru-Kula & Shahi covered all the school's expenses, including Ts' salary. During Malik Nisa Mithaqi's teaching term in Saru-Kula, B & Mu students performed ablutions before prayer (*vuзу*) in the river's waters, & then prayed Mu prayers.²¹⁵

Madrasah-yi Ayval

Ayval,²¹⁶ Mazandaran; founded in 1923–4 by 'Abd al-'Ali Shahmirzadi (known as 'Shahab'), with the cooperation of the LSAs of Ayval & Sari²¹⁷

Boys, P (grades 1–4); 19,²¹⁸ B (at first, but 3 years after foundation also Mu);²¹⁹

Tuition: FINA

Site: In a non-residential house, within which all students sat in one room, in rows, with each row forming a separate grade

Staff: **M&S**: No separate posts for M or S existed, & Ts performed all the duties of such posts; **T**: 'Abd al-'Ali (Shahab) Shahmirzadi (first 2 years), Mirza 'Avaz Muhammad Jazbani (for 1 year), Farajullah Na'imi (for a few years), Lutfullah Farsiyan (for 1 year), Zu al-Fiqar Na'imi (in 1930–1, for 2 years), unknown (1933–4/1937–8), Fazlullah Thabitiyan (1937–8/1941–2) & Muhammad Muvvafiqi (1941–2/1946–7);²²⁰ **Ma**: School did not have a *farrash* & students had the duty of cleaning the school

Curriculum: Reading & Writing, Arithmetic, *Siyaq*, History, Composition, Translation (Arabic to Persian), Penmanship; **OA**: Singing & giving talks in front of the nobility was customary;²²¹ **TA**: Wooden benches, desks, blackboard;²²² **LFT**: Reed pen, ink, thick paper, books;²²³ **E**: Head of the district (*bakhsb-dar*) & the governor (*farmandar*) (both Mu) were those who examined the students; **DR**: School was open every day except Friday, all year round; students attended the school twice a day: From morning till noon & after lunch till sunset; before entering the classroom, students stood in rows & sang hymns; then the Ts inspected students' hygiene (shortness of their fingernails, whether they had bathed, etc.)

Notes: Ts salary was 100 *tumans* per year²²⁴ (for the first T, & probably more later). School's budget deficit was covered by the LSA, & with the financial assistance of the Sari LSA.²²⁵

{Name Unknown}

Khushih-yi Gurgan,²²⁶ Mazandaran; founded around 1927–8²²⁷ by Qudsiyyih Ashraf B&G, P (grades 1–5); 50, B & Mu; **Tuition**: INA

Staff: M&T: F²²⁸

Site: In Khushih's *Hazirat al-Quds*

Curriculum: MEC; OA: Students were taught social manners²²⁹ (*Dars-i Akhblaq*) classes; TA: Library

Notes: Students studied in shifts, according to their other occupations.²³⁰

Madrasib-yi Kafshgar-Kula

Kafshgar-Kula,²³¹ Mazandaran; founded in 1919–20, by the LSA of Kafshgar-Kula (& especially its chair, 'Ali-Muhammad Dirakhshaniyan)

INA, P (grades 1–4); 50–60, B & Mu; **Tuition:** 4 *riyals* per month; students from poor families were exempted from paying tuition fees

Site: In a *takiyyih*, which had one very extensive room (in which students of each grade sat in a different row)²³²

Staff: M&S: No separate post for M or S existed; Ts performed the duties of teaching as well as those of M & S; T: 'Ali-Muhammad Dirakhshaniyan (for 2 years), Muhammad-Baqir Dirakhshan (secretary of the LSA; for 2 years), Muhammad-'Ali Payrauvan (from 1923–4 & for 3 years), Rahmatullah Dirakhshaniyan (son of F), Ihsanullah Yazdan-Panah (known as 'Haj Aqa Mudir'), an unknown period, during which the school had no T, Masih Dirakhshani, Ni'matullah 'Abdi, Hamid Samimi (for 3 months only, & just before the closure of the school);²³³ **Ma:** No *farrash* seems to have been in the school; students themselves took over the duty of cleaning

Curriculum: MEC; as in most schools of that period, students spent the first 2–3 years learning how to read & write & the 4 basic arithmetic operations; only in the 4th & 5th grades did they study other subjects such as Handwriting, Dictation, Arithmetic & Geometry, History, Geography, Hygiene, & Sciences; OA: Sports & some experimental activities;²³⁴ **E:** Students were examined in the presence of the Ts, members of the LSA, their parents & members of the local authorities; students were examined in the school's large yard;²³⁵ **DR:** Before entering the classrooms, students performed Islamic prayers;²³⁶ no other specific ceremony took place in the morning or evening; students attended school twice a day (in the morning & in the afternoon), going to their homes for lunch

Notes: No uniform was enforced. T's salary, during Payruvan's term, was 10 *tumans* per month, but it gradually increased. School's budget deficit was covered by the LSA.

{Name Unknown}

Mahfuruzak (or Mahfurujak),²³⁷ Mazandaran; founded in 1923–4 by Aqa Mirza 'Ali Muhammad²³⁸

B&G, P; 20,²³⁹ B & O,²⁴⁰ **Tuition:** 3 *riyals* per month

Site: 1st loc: For the first 5 months, the school was in the house of Mulla 'Ali Jan Shahid & 'Alaviyyih Khanum (known as 'Umat al-Baha'); 2nd loc: The Mir Ma'sum building, which was a deserted house, with 4–5 rooms

Staff: M&S: Aqa Mirza 'Ali Muhammad;²⁴¹ T: Vajihullah Khan Mu'addab Yazdi (for 3 years),²⁴² Aqa Mirza Qasim Iqani (for 6 years),²⁴³ Qudsiyyih Khanum 'Alaviyan,²⁴⁴ **Ma:** No *farrash* was employed, & the cleaning was done by students

Curriculum: At the beginning students learned how to read & write, & afterwards studied a variety of subjects such as Persian, Dictation, Sciences, Hygiene, Geography, History, Arithmetic & Geometry; **OA:** *Dars-i Akbalaq* (a few hours each week, & only for the B students); **LFT:** Reed pen (fine & thick) & notebook; **E:** Took place only at the end of the school year; by invitation of the LSA of Mahfuruzak, members of the LSA of Sari also participated in the Es, as S; **DR:** With the ringing of the school's bell, students (B&G) stood in one row; the Ts then asked 2 students to chant prayers, after which the Ts inspected the cleanness of the students (head, face, hands & nails); then, students were reminded how B children should behave, & only then did they enter the classroom; in the classroom, students who used to study with each other sat together; they sat on a mat, opened their books & stood up when the Ts entered their classroom; the Ts questioned the older students first, going over their homework & giving them new exercises; only then did the Ts turned to the rest of the students; students from the upper grades were asked by the Ts to assist weak students, & thus all students knew each other very well; during break time the Ts followed the behaviour of the students very carefully; at noon, the school closed for lunch; in the afternoon, Ts used to give the lower grades copying duties (*sar-mashq*) & exercises for the night; **H:** School was open every day of the week & all year round, except Fridays; it closed during the B holidays; **C&C:** During B holidays, C&C took place in the school; **P&R:** No *phpu* was used

Notes: Sardar Jalil from Sari covered the school's budget deficit.²⁴⁵ No uniform was enforced. No age limit existed for attending the school.

Madrasib-yi Milli-yi Baba'iyān-i Raushan-Kuh

Raushan-Kuh,²⁴⁶ Mazandaran; founded in 1935–6 by LSA of Raushan-Kuh

Boys, P (grades 1–4); 6,²⁴⁷ B (most) & Mu; **Tuition:** 5 *qirans* per month

Site: 1st loc: In the house of a local B; 2nd loc: 1 room in the building of the local *Hazirat al-Quds*

Staff: M&S: No separate post for M or S existed; Ts performed the teaching duties as well as those of M & S; T: Aqa Mirza Qunbari (for the first 4 years),²⁴⁸ Shukrullah Khatibi (after 6 months of school's closure, & for 3 years), Mr Ha'iri (for 2 years), Hushang Farhangi (a Mu Kurd; for 2 years) & Husayn Jalali (Mu; for 1 year); **Ma:** No *farrash* was employed; cleaning was first done by the students, & later by local women

Curriculum: For the first 2–3 years students studied Reading & Writing, & afterwards studied the following subjects: Arithmetic & Counting (*Hisab-u-Shumarish*), Persian, Dictation, Calligraphy (*Mashq-i Khatt*), History & Geography; **TA:** At first students sat on felt carpets, but gradually wooden benches were introduced; **LFT:** Reed pen, ink, pencil & notebook;²⁴⁹ **E:** No Es took place; students moved to a higher grade according to Ts' evaluation; **DR:** Students attended the school all year round, twice a day (except Fridays), in the morning & in the afternoon; **H:** School remained open during state as well as B holidays (at least at first)²⁵⁰

Notes: No uniform was enforced. Locals gave the Ts rice and other grain, *sabzi* (greens), chickens, etc., as presents.

School's budget deficit was covered by the LSA.

*Madrasah-yi Salarīyyib*²⁵¹

Sari, Mazandaran; founded at the end of 1906 by Aqa Lutf-'Ali Khan Mir-Panjih Salar-i Mukarram (later known as 'Sardar Jalil')²⁵²

Boys, P; 70,²⁵³ B & O; **Tuition:** 40 students did not pay tuition fees because of their very young age or their families being poor

Site: INA

Staff: M: Abu al-Qasim Garusi (& Arabic T); S: Mirza Sulayman Khan (known as 'Hishmat')²⁵⁴ (& Arithmetic & History T); T: Mirza (Monsieur) Ihsanullah Khan (French), Mirza Furugh (Russian & *Siyaq*), Aqa Sayyid Muhammad & 'Ali Bihruzi;²⁵⁵
Ma: 3 *farrashes* (names not known)²⁵⁶

Curriculum: TA & LFCT: F 'secured all & every kind of the school's equipment . . .';²⁵⁷
FINA

Notes: Closed in 1907 by a mob, who attacked the school because of Sardar Jalil, the school's F, being a B. Budget deficit was covered by Sardar Jalil himself, through a monthly payment of 50 *tumans*.

A number of the students joined Anjuman-i Haqiqat.²⁵⁸ **Salary scale:** 40 *tumans* (M), 20 *tumans* (Language T), & 15 *tumans* (other Ts).²⁵⁹

Madrasah-yi Haqiqat (also known as *Mu'allim-Khanib-yi Haqiqat*)

Sari, Mazandaran; founded in 1907²⁶⁰ by Aqa Sayyid Husayn Muqaddas²⁶¹

Boys, P; INA, B & O;²⁶² **Tuition:** students did not pay tuition fees because of their very young age or their families being poor

Site: 1st loc: In a semi-destroyed building, in the western section of Bagh-i Shah; 2nd loc: On the site of the former school (Madrasah-yi Qadimih)²⁶³

Staff: INA²⁶⁴

Curriculum: INA

Notes: Opened, under a different name, as a replacement for the above school. 1st loc closed in 1908 after a mob of 1,000 people or more attacked the school, dispersed the children & broke the equipment, furniture, etc. 2nd loc opened a few months later, with the help of Sayyid Mirza 'Ali 'Imadi Mujtahid & Mirza Ghulam-Husayn Iranpur, & closed in 1911, after the arrival of Muhammad-'Ali Shah in Sari.²⁶⁵

Budget deficit was covered by Aqa Sayyid Husayn Muqaddas. **Salary scale:** INA (but should be close to that of Madrasah-yi Salarīyyih).²⁶⁶

Madrasah-i Ta'yid (1st loc) or *Madrasah-i Ta'yid-i Ahmadi* (2nd loc)²⁶⁷

Sari, Mazandaran; founded in 1908 (1st loc) & INA (but surely before 1919–20) (2nd loc), Aqa Sayyid Husayn Muqaddas & Sardar Jalil (with the support of Isma'il Khan Bavand Amir-i Mu'ayyid)

Boys, PS (*kilas-i nim* or 'half class') + P;²⁶⁸ INA,²⁶⁹ B & O; **Tuition:** (probably as in the case of Madrasah-yi Haqiqat and Madrasah-yi Salariyyih)

Site: 1st loc: In one of Sayyid Husayn Muqaddas's houses, located in Chiragh-i Barq district; 2nd loc: In another house of Sayyid Husayn Muqaddas (near Shah St., adjacent to the *Takiyyih* of Muhammad-Taqi Khan), composed of a 2-storey building, 4 rooms on each floor; a yard, with flowers & trees, & 2 pools

Staff: M: Monsieur Ihsanullah Khan (1st loc), Aqa Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidin Abrari (2nd loc); S: Mirza Muhammad Khan Majdzadiah (1st loc), Aqa Shaykh 'Ali Jan Bihruzi (2nd loc); T: (2nd loc): Mirza Abu al-Qasim Garusi (B; 1st grade), Ghulam-Husayn Khaliqi (2nd grade), Assadullah Mushirzadiah & later Mr Mahjuri (3rd grade), Ahmad Muqaddasi (B; 4th grade & Mathematics & Calligraphy), Muhammad Ghaybi (B; 5th grade), Zayn al-'Abidin Abrari & Aqa 'Ali Jan Bihruzi (6th grade);

Ma: At least 1 *farrash* (Mu) by the name of 'Ali-Riza Khan, in charge of cleaning & executing the orders of M, S & Ts²⁷⁰

Curriculum: PS: Preliminary stages of Reading & Writing; grades 1–3: Reading & Writing, penmanship (*Khusb-Nivisi*), & Mathematics (*Riyaziyat*); grades 4–6: Arabic, Mathematics (Algebra & Geometry), History, French, Russian, *Siyaq*, Religious Law (*Shar'iyat*), Hygiene (*Hifz al-Sibih*), Sciences (*'Ulm al-Asbya'*), Taxation (*Nisab*), Geography, Composition & Dictation (*Insha'-u-impla'*); TA: wooden benches, desks, blackboards (2nd loc); DR: Students studied all year round & every day, except Fridays from 7:30 to 12 & again from 3 pm to sunset; they began the school day by standing in rows & singing eulogy songs for the shah (at the beginning for Ahmad Shah Qajar & later for Riza Shah Pahlavi);²⁷¹ E: Once, at the end of each year, 6th grade E took place in the Ministry of Religious Endowments, both in writing & orally; C&C: At the end of the 6th grade Es, for those who passed them²⁷²

Notes: 1st loc closed 1913, after being attacked by Salar al-Daulih & his soldiers, coming from Gurgan, & acting according to a *farman*²⁷³ (order). They broke some of the equipment & looted the rest. 2nd loc probably closed in the mid 1930s, when all the B schools were closed by order of Riza Shah.

Budget deficit was covered by Bs, such as Aqa Sayyid Husayn Muqaddas, Sardar Jalil & Huzhabr 'Abd al-Maliki.²⁷⁴ Salary scale: INA (but should be close to that of Madrasah-yi Salariyyih).²⁷⁵

{Name Unknown}

Sari, Mazandaran; founded INA by INA

Girls, INA; INA, INA (probably B & O); **Tuition:** INA

Site: INA

Staff: M: Nayirih Abrari, Saltanat Khanum Varisih;²⁷⁶ FINA

Curriculum: INA

{Name Unknown}

Shahmirzad,²⁷⁷ Mazandaran; founded INA by INA

[Type] INA; B, INA; *Tuition*: INA

Site: INA

Staff: T: Mu'allim Zahra; FINA

Curriculum: INA

Madrasib-yi Nur or Madrasib-yi Takir

Takir,²⁷⁸ Nur, Mazandaran; founded 1st loc: 1913–14; 2nd loc: 1919–20,²⁷⁹ by Mirza Fazlullah Khan Urangi Nizam al-Mamalik

Boys, P (grades 1–4);²⁸⁰ 30, B²⁸¹ & Mu; *Tuition*: No tuition fees were charged²⁸²

Site: 1st loc: The site of Mirza Buzurg Khan Nuri's²⁸³ house; 2nd loc: A separate building, built on the northern side of the former place²⁸⁴

Staff: M&S&T:²⁸⁵ Mr Mansuri, Mr Fulad, 'Abd al-'Ali Shahab Shahmirzadi, Mr Pishnamazi;²⁸⁶ Ma: Musa Muhsini, Hasan Urangiyan & Ibrahim Urangiyan²⁸⁷

Curriculum: After learning how to read & write, students studied the following: Calligraphy, Sciences, Hygiene, Mathematics & Geometry, History, Geography, Persian & French²⁸⁸

Notes: No uniform was enforced. F covered all expenses from his own pocket for 20 years. He also paid for students' clothes, TA & LFT.²⁸⁹

Madrasib-yi Pisaranib-yi Ta'yid (also included the *Madrasib-yi Mutivvasitib-yi Ta'yid*)²⁹⁰

Hamadan; founded 1908 by LSA of Hamadan²⁹¹

Boys, PS+P+I (grades 7–9); over 230, mostly B & Mu; *Tuition*: 4 *riyals* per month (taken equally from families of all the students, no matter in which grade their children studied)

Site: Centre of the city, in Qashuq-Tirashan quarter (Spoon-Makers' quarter),²⁹² the school was 1,500 sq. m,²⁹³ on which there was a 2-storey building, with an extensive hall,²⁹⁴ a yard (400 sq. m), with toilets & drinking-water taps;²⁹⁵ apart from the hall, the building contained 12 rooms (with capacity for 20 students each), 1 room for M&S, & 1 room for the *farrash*

Staff: M: 'Abdullah Ittihadiyyih (known as 'Monsieur André') (1917–18/1920–1), Nur al-Din Mukhtari (1920–1/1928–9), 'Abd al-Hamid Mauzun (known as 'Mirza Sultan') (1 year; 1928–9/1929–30), Ahmad Razi (1928–9/1935);²⁹⁶ S: 'Abd al-Hamid Mauzun (first 3 years), Sa'id Effendi (a B from Iraq; for the following 2 years), Ishaq 'Ama'i, Nur al-Din Mumtazi, Yusif Saddiq Ama'i (for the following 12 years), 'Ata'ullah Javidan, Abul-Qasim Mashkur (for the remainder; was not a B); T: 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari,²⁹⁷ Habibullah Dirakhshani, Adib Mujarrid (Musa), Mirza Mihdi Jinab, Sa'id Razavi (Persian & Arabic), Habibullah Girami, Habibullah Parniyan (Sports), Sayfullah Mauzun, Habib Nuriyan (Arithmetic & Music), Zabihullah Vadud (Mathematics), 'Abdullah & Mihdi Mithaqi, Mr Sa'idi, Yusif Saddiq 'Ama'i (French), Musa Adib Ahari²⁹⁸ (Arabic &

Calligraphy), Hidayatullah Furuhar (English), Lutfullah Vahid (Geometry & Algebra [*Jabr-u-Muqabilib*]), Nurullah Hushidar (Physics, Chemistry & Painting), Mr Hushidari (History & Mathematics), Mahmud Takistani (English Grammar), Mirza Muhammad Natiq Ardastani (Persian Literature & Poetry), Farajullah Shakiri & Sayyid 'Abbas Shauqi (Mu; T of lower grades), Mirza Assadullah Fazil Shirazi (Arabic Grammar), Mirza Muhammad-'Ali Sha'iq Natiq (Calligraphy [*Mashq-u-Khatt*]), Dr 'Ata'ullah Javidan (English & French), Mirza Hasan Nau-Bahar (Persian & Grammar), Mas'ud Marfih, Vajhullah Layazalli, 'Abdullah Piruz, Sayyid 'Abbas 'Alavi, Ayub Raf'at, Davud-Quli Nami, & Mirza Muhsin Dabir Mu'ayyad (for some time also M), Nurullah Muniri, Ibrahim Hakim, Hisami, Habibullah Siraj, 'Ata'ullah Javidan, Habibullah Nazar, Dr Jalal Bahizad, 'Inayatullah Shakibapur, Khalil Anvari, Habibullah Parniyan, Dr 'Abdullah Javid, Dr 'Azizullah Sabiti, Ibrahim Javidan, Mihdi Razi, Mirza Sultan Mauzun, Sa'id Effendi Baghdadi (English);²⁹⁹ **Ma**: 'Ali Aqa (or 'Ali Subh-Khayr known as 'Akhund 'Ali') & 'Abd al-Hamid Imzajardiyan³⁰⁰

Curriculum: **MEC** + Sports, Calligraphy & Painting; **OA**: Gymnastics, Arena Polo (*Chaugan* or *Chub-u-Chapatih*), Music (probably learning to play the violin), English & French;³⁰¹ on Thursdays students gathered in the *Hazirat al-Quds* (the school's extensive hall) & heard speeches about refining their manners, their & the staff's general duties, etc.³⁰² **DR**: National anthem sung during later years (i.e., the Pahlavi period) in the mornings, while students were in rows & before entering their classes; students attended school twice a day, in 2 shifts; **TA**: 3-person wooden benches, blackboards, geographical & physiology maps, library³⁰³ & laboratory (Physics & Chemistry);³⁰⁴ sports equipment included parallel bars & other gymnastic equipment, rope, etc. **LFT**: Reed pen, pencil, French pen, ink & inkpot; heaters (run on wood); **E**: Thrice a year E results were accepted by ME; unlike other schools, students registered in the national E under the school's name; **P&R**: Phpu (*falak*) was used, but in later years cancelled; achievement certificates (*sad & bizar afarin*) were given to excellent students as encouragement; **C&C**: Mu C&C were not practised, but the B ones did, most magnificently, take place; Firdausi's millennium was celebrated

Notes: A school committee was composed by a number of locally known Bs, all selected by the LSA.³⁰⁵ Uniform was introduced only after the ascension of Riza Shah Pahlavi to the throne.³⁰⁶ Budget deficit was ameliorated also through income from plays,³⁰⁷ singing, music & sports performances, lectures, etc., which were organized by the school's staff & students, & the local Bs, which usually took place on B C&C, & for which tickets were sold. Some time after the foundation of the Ta'yid and Mauhibat Schools, a site adjacent to the Ta'yid School was turned into a library, named *Qira'at-Khanib-yi Ta'yid* (lit, Ta'yid Reading House). It had 4,000 scientific books in Persian, French, Arabic and English, as well as B religious books. People like Yusif Saddiq Ama'i and Davud Mansuri invested much of their time in the smooth running of the library and enriching its collection. Most readers were either B or students from the two schools. With the closure of the B schools, the B books were transferred to the LSA, with the rest being lost.³⁰⁸

Madrasib-yi Dukbtaranib-yi Maubibat³⁰⁹

Hamadan; founded 1909³¹⁰ by LSA of Hamadan

Girls, P; 200–300, B+Mu+C+J+Z; **Tuition:** Changed according to the grade (maximum, 15 *riyals*); students from poor families were exempted

Site: 1st loc: Qashuq-Tirashan quarter (adjacent to the Ta'yid Boys' School, & separated from it by the *Hazirat al-Quds's* hall); 1,000 sq. m; school had a yard (smaller than that of the boys' school), a 2-storey building, toilets, water well, 7 rooms (3x4 m each), in one of which resided the *farrash*; 2nd loc: Kababiyah quarter; 1,000–1,500 or 700–800 sq. m;³¹¹ a yard & a 2-storey building (more modern than the 1st loc), which included 9 classes

Staff: M:³¹² Mahbubih Khanum,³¹³ Shahla Khanum Rafat, Masturih Khanum Haqiqi, Ishraqiyih Khanum Zabih, Bihjat Shadab, Farangiz Mishkin-Nafs, Tahirih Khanum Ittihadiyah & Fazil Shirazi; S: Masturih Khanum Haqiqi, Shahla Rafat, Sa'adat, Sughra 'Ama'i, Mahi Khanum Ihtiyati, Muluk Khanum Khadim, Maymanat Khanum Nami; T: Tuba Khanum Nami, Zarin Mashhur, Farangiz Siraj, Tal'at Mahbubi, Tuba Sa'i, Shaukat Sabiran, Bihjat Mutihaddin (Mahbubi) (5th & 6th grade T), Muluk Khadim, Tuba Junud, Batul Khanum Razi (Khazin) (5th & 6th grades T), Tuba Mutahhari (or Mazhari), Muluk Nikunam, 'Izzat & Munirih Azad, Muluk Farhumand, 'Izzat Khanum Vahid, Shaukat Khanum & Qamar Khanum Anvar, Maymanat Nami, Ruhullah Mauzun, Muluk 'Alizadih, Sadr al-Muluk Mauzun (Ishraq-Khavari), Shams al-Muluk Mauzun,³¹⁴ Akhtar al-Muluk Khanum Mauzun, Mas'ud Javid, Umatullah Tavus, Umatullah Munavvar, Sadiqih Nauruzi (Mu) & an Assyrian woman (English);³¹⁵ Ma: 'Ali Aqa or Aqa Fath-'Ali or Sultan-'Ali Imzajardi³¹⁶

Curriculum: MEC (History, Geography, Sciences [*Ilm al-Asya'*], Religious Law (*Shar'iyat*), English) + Painting, Calligraphy; OA: Sports & Light Exercises (*Narmish*);³¹⁷ also, the T of each class taught her students the skills she mastered (such as Knitting, Sewing & Singing); DR: Students attended the school twice a day (in 2 shifts); E: Once, twice or thrice a year; students registered for the final 6th & 9th grade Es under the school's name; certificates were given to the students at the end of each year; P&R: Phpu was used (executed by the *farrash*); lazy students were made to wear paper hats, or called in the presence of others & hit on their hands with a ruler; at a later stage, phpu was cancelled; successful students received *sad* & *bizar afarin* certificates; C&C: Graduation celebrations, to which parents were invited & excellent students received prizes; see also Ta'yid Boys' School

Notes: No uniform existed, although most of the students wore white-collared grey-coloured dresses, with white socks & head-ribbon (out of school the students wore *chadurs*). Apart from tuition fees, budget deficits were covered by donations (such as those from the ladies of Lajnih-yi Tarraqi-yi Nisvan [Committee for Women's Progress]) or entertainment activities (see Ta'yid Boys' School).

Madrasib-yi Dukbtaranib-yi Tarbiyat³¹⁸

Yazd,³¹⁹ founded 1919–20³²⁰ by Hajjiyih Bibi Sughra Ta'if al-Haramayn³²¹ (known as 'Hajjiyih Khanum')

Girls, P+I³²²; mostly non-B, but also B;³²³ **Tuition:** 2–3 *riyals* per month; students from poor families were exempted

Site: Kazargah (or Gazargah) quarter (a Mu neighbourhood); 2 yards, 1 office, 1 hall, 3 classrooms (different sizes)

Staff: M: F (& S & T); T: Hajjiyyih Khanum (6th grade T & 5th grade Mathematics T), Bibi Rizvan Shahidzadih (Qur'an & *Shar'iyat*), Sultan Munjazib, Nurastih Sami'yan, Nusrat Muslih,³²⁴ Bibi Khavar Muhammadi (sister of F; S & T of Sciences & Hygiene), Sakinih Charkhi (Handicrafts), Rizvaniyyih Nikbakht (Calligraphy) & Batul Fattahi (Arabic & Foreign Languages for 1 year only)³²⁵ **Ma:** A woman, who was in charge of the cleaning & pursuing the causes for students' absences from school

Curriculum: MEC. For Mathematics, students studied the *Pansad-Mas'alib* & *Hizar-Mas'alib*³²⁶ exercise books; in addition, students were taught *Siyaq*;³²⁷ much stress was put on the study of Calligraphy; **OA:** Sports was introduced at the beginning of 1932–3/1933–4,³²⁸ 'for the teaching of which a special person used to come to the school [once a week]';³²⁹ students were also taught handicrafts such as Sewing, Knitting, Embroidery & Carpet Weaving thrice a week;³³⁰ **DR:** Islamic prayers were performed, with rugs being placed in the yard & students praying in rows; **TA:** 3-person wooden benches, desk, blackboard & geography maps (of the different continents); **LFT:** Students bought their books from the only bookshop in Yazd; reed pen (fine & thick nibs), inkpot, ink, pencil, notebooks;³³¹ **E:** To prepare the students for their Es, Hajjiyyih Khanum used to teach them also at night, before the Es; **C&C:** Only graduation ceremonies were held; no national or religious C&C were held; during Nauruz, Hajjiyyih Khanum used to receive students at the school's hall, when they came to congratulate her wearing their new clothes; at times, students from rich families used to give Hajjiyyih Khanum presents such as Russian sugar-loaf (*kalib-qand-i Rusi*), tea or a shirt, placed on a tray; during Ramadan students had Qur'an reading classes (every day at 10 am), taught by Mrs Mulla Buzurg, the blind mother of Hajjiyyih Khanum

Note: No uniform was used. Students came & left the school wearing *chadurs*, which they took off when at school, keeping on the headscarves. During 1930–1/1934–5 students used to cut their hair short.

*Madrasib-yi Pisaranib-yi Taufiq*³³²

Yazd; founded 1930³³³ by LSA of Yazd

Boys, P; 30 (at the beginning) up to 130–150 (during latter years), B & Mu; **Tuition:** INA

Site: 1st loc: Gazargah quarter, in a 300 sq. m old building, which later was ruined by a flood; 2nd loc (temporary): South of Gazargah quarter, in another 300 sq. m rented building, with a few classrooms;³³⁴ 3rd loc (2–3 years):³³⁵ Near Mir Chahmakh, adjacent to Gul-i Mishki Public Bath & between 2 bazaars (Shahid Baz & Haji Qanbar), 1,000 sq. m in size, with an extensive yard, pool & trees; a 2-storey building, with a big hall & many rooms; rented from a Mu; 4th loc: 1,500–4,000 sq. m in size,³³⁶ located behind the *Hazirat al-Quds*; formerly the site of the Z Markar

School; a 2-storey building, with an extensive yard, water well, pool, 2 small gardens; a large piece of land behind the school was used for sports activities (such as football), a 4x10 m hall was used for 3rd–6th grades & for large gatherings, while 1st & 2nd grades were taught outside it; one office

Staff: **M&S:** Khusrau Haqq-Pazhuh (& T) (4 years), Mihraban Hidayati (& T); **T:** Ghulam-Riza Azadmanish (1st grade), Ustad Mihraban Rasti (5th & 6th grades) (for 2 years), Ghulam-'Abbas Dirakhshan (2nd & 3rd grades) (for 3 years), Muhammad Danish (a Mu; 2nd & 3rd grades), Haji 'Ali Sutunzadih (2nd & 3rd grades), Shahriyar Akhtar Khavari (for 2 years), Ghulam-'Ali Dirakhshan, Ata'ullah Muhsiniyan; **Ma:** Mihdi Sarsaz

Curriculum: MEC only; much emphasis was given to Calligraphy; OA: National anthem was taught by an official; DR: Students attended the school twice per day (2 shifts: 8–12 & 2–4:30);³³⁷ there were 3 breaks per day; the national anthem was sung & Iranian flag hoisted every morning; at the end of each school day, students were arranged in rows (according to their area of residence), & marched out together by each row's monitor (*mubsir*), with students leaving the line one by one, upon arrival at their residence; TA: 3-person wooden benches, blackboard, geography maps; LFT: Books (bought from bookshops), reed pen, pencil, regular notebooks; E: Took place thrice a year (at the end of each trimester); usually the M & a person invited from outside the school used to test the students & give them their certificates; but for the final 6th-grade graduation certificate, students had to participate in the national Es; P&R: Phpu was lightly used (usually hitting with a ruler one the hands of lazy or badly behaved students); C&C: Ceremonies ending the year held annually, during which prizes were given to excellent students; during B Hs, celebrations took place, with sweets given to students

Notes: A committee, set up by the LSA, administered the affairs of the school. School's insignia was placed on the students' hats. Apart from tuition fees, school's expenses were covered by donations (*sandug-i khayriyyib*) & once also by the sale of tickets for a play organized by the school.

Madrasib-yi Dukhtaranib-yi Tabzib

Yazd; founded 1930–1³³⁸ by Sultan Nik-A'vin, Muhammad-'Ali Tahzib, & the local B community

Girls, P; INA, B & Mu & O;³³⁹ **Tuition:** INA

Site: Mirza Yahya Ra'fati's home in Vaqt-u-Sa'at quarter, in Bazar-i Nau quarter, in Fahadan quarter

Staff: M: Ruhangiz Khanum Yazdaniyan (& T); T: Vafa Khanum Yazdaniyan³⁴⁰

Curriculum: MEC; FINA

Notes: Apart from tuition fees, school's expenses were covered by donations (*sandug-i khayriyyib*). Students arrived at & left school wearing *chadurs*.³⁴¹

*Madrasib-yi Dukhtaranib-yi Hushangi*³⁴²

Yazd; founded 1924–5³⁴³ by Hushang Hushangi

Girls, P; 60–100, B, Mu & Z; **Tuition:** No tuition

Site: 1st loc: The residence of a B named Khalih Surur Shahzadi; 2nd loc: Khan 'Ali quarter (or Pusht-i Khanih-yi 'Ali) & at the beginning of Lurd-i Asiyab, a Z neighbourhood;³⁴⁴ the school was located, for students' convenience, in the centre of the quarter, surrounded by houses of well-known families, & frequented by passers-by (so that the girls would not be harassed & would be relatively close to their homes); 300–400 sq. m with a 2-storey building, which contained 8–10 rooms (4–5 on each storey);³⁴⁵ one office; one hall; one storage room; a small yard (25x10 m),³⁴⁶ a pool, a garden, toilets & a water well

Staff: M: Gul-Chihrih Khanum Faridani (& T, upper grades); S: Khuda-Parast Khanum Shahzadih (& T, 1st grade); T:³⁴⁷ Rubabih Khanum Muttahidih, Thuraya Khanum Nafizi, Ruhangiz Hidayati, Murvarid Hushang (Sewing), Murvarid Khanum & Daulat Khanum;³⁴⁸ Ma: Khurshid Khanum (Z; in charge of cleaning)

Curriculum: MEC; not much attention was given to the *Shar'iyat* class, because the school was in the Z neighbourhood; OA: Sewing, Sports,³⁴⁹ & other complimentary classes; B religious classes were not part of the Cu, although sometimes the religious classes of Shaykh Muhammad-'Ali Qa'ini were taught, & the students welcomed them very much; DR: Singing the national anthem & B hymns in the mornings (either in the yard or hall, according to season); TA: Blackboard, geography maps (of the Asian, European & American continents), 3-person wooden benches; no heater was necessary due to the extreme heat; LFT: Fine- & thick-nibbed reed pens, French pen, pencils, regular notebooks & books (bought from bookshops); E: Thrice a year & recognized by ME; for 6th-grade certificate students had to participate in national Es; P&R: Phpu was used (*falak*); C&C: C&Cs, marking the end of the school year, took place each year, not at school, but at Hushangi's residence (which was a bigger place), with students' parents being invited & entertained, speeches made, songs sung, sport exercises performed, & excellent students presented with prizes

Notes: No uniform was used. Mu students wore *chadurs* on their way to & from school, but the rest wore regular clothes (probably during Riza Shah period). All expenses were covered by Hushangi, but donations from Bs were welcomed.

*Madrasib-yi Dukhtaranib-yi Rustami*³⁵⁰

Maryamabad, Yazd; founded INA, by Mihraban Din-Yar (a B-converted Z)

Girls, P (grades 1–5);³⁵¹ INA, Z & B from Z origin; **Tuition:** INA (probably no tuition)

Site: Building containing a hall, a number of big rooms, a yard & toilets

Staff: M & S & T: One person filled all those positions, teaching all grades; students sat on the carpet in rows, with each row representing a different grade, & were taught their relative subjects; first person was Mihraban Rasti, followed by his daughter Murvarid Rasti, & afterwards by Banu Mazkuri; Ustad Khadijih taught Sewing; Ma: School had no *farrash*; all the duties of that post were performed by the T & the students

Curriculum: MEC; OA: Sewing; TA: No blackboard, benches or desks; students sat on a pile-less carpet (*zilu*); LFT: Fine- & thick-nibbed reed pens; E: Final exams at

the end of each year; **C&C**: No specific religious C&C took place at school

Notes: School was open all year long (no summer holidays existed). Students wore their normal clothes; no uniform was enforced. Expenses were covered by donations.

*Madrasah-yi Dukhtaranib-yi Mahdiabad*³⁵²

Mahdiabad, Yazd; founded INA by Mahdiabad B community

Girls, P (grades 1–5); 20, B & Z; **Tuition**: INA (probably no tuition)

Site: A 1-storey building, containing 3 rooms and 1 hall, on a 600 sq. m tract of land, with a yard, pool & toilets

Staff: **M & S & T**: Ts filled the posts of M & S as did Rustam Kiyumarth Akhtar-Khavari (Esperanto & B classes); Pur-Khursand; Bimanat Surush; Mihraban Rasti; **Ma**: None existed

Curriculum: **MEC**; **OA**: INA; **TA**: Blackboard, but no seating facilities (students sat on pile-less carpet); **LFT**: Notebook, reed pen, straw-paper; **E**: Once, at the end of each school year³⁵³

P&R: Phpu was used

Notes: Students wore their normal clothes; no uniform was enforced. Local B community covered all expenses.

TABLE 2
BAHAI KINDERGARTENS AND PRE-SCHOOLS IN IRAN

Name	In	Year Founded	Founder	Location & Size	Type	Staff	No., Age & Religion of Children	Tuition Fees	Notes
<i>Mithaqa'iyyih</i> ¹	Tehran	After the closure of the Tarbiyat School (in 1934-5)	'Abd al-Mithaq Mithaqa'iyyih	A. building of 1,000 sq. m	K	All were women	B & O	INA	
<i>Tabiyyih</i> or <i>Amadigi-yi Tarbiyat</i> ²	Tehran	INA	INA	Behind the Tarbiyat Girls School	PS	Batul Khanum, Khanum Buzurg & Ruhullah Khadim ³	B	INA	
<i>Tabiyyih</i> or <i>Amadigi-yi Ta'iid</i> ⁴	Hamadan	INA	INA	INA	PS ⁵	Masrurih Haqiqi, her nieces & an Armenian lady named Mary	B	INA	K children performed a play titled ' <i>Gulba-yi Rangarang</i> ' (Colourful Flowers) in Hamadan's Shadab Movie Theatre.

Name	In	Year Founded	Founder	Location & Size	Type	Staff	No., Age & Religion of Children	Tuition Fees	Notes
<i>Himmati</i> ⁶	Kirman	1932-3	Bilqis Mishkiyan & the LSA of Kirman ⁷	In Zarisaf quarter, in the Barzu Amighi Alley, east of Mushtaq Square	K	Bilqis Mishkiyan, assisted by Zakiyyih Fakhr Khurasani	Circa 50 ⁸ 2-6 year-olds B, Z, M	2 <i>riyazs</i> a month	No religious subjects were taught. Children were taught how to behave, keep order & clean, hygiene, kindness to one another & to animals, songs, ⁹ etc. Medical affairs were the responsibility of Dr Sadiq Khan Hakimani. LSA of Kirman covered all of K's budget deficit. Each child had its own towel, & on arrival washed its hands & nails & was examined on the head. Physical punishment was not allowed, & children who repeatedly misbehaved were sent home. All students wore shoes & most of them had stockings, & learned to use a handkerchief.

Name	In	Year Founded	Founder	Location & Size	Type	Staff	No., Age & Religion of Children	Tuition Fees	Notes
INA ¹⁰	Yazd	1934-5	Bilqis Mishkiyan	A building, with a big hall, 3 classrooms (upper floor), a sleeping hall, ¹¹ drinking water, ¹² toilets, big yard & playground ¹³ (all on ground floor)	K	Bilqis Mishkiyan was manager for 4 years (up to 1938-9) ¹⁴	3-5 year-olds		In the mornings, after lining up in the yard in 3 rows according to their age & class (3-5), the children entered the hall for cleanliness inspection. ¹⁵ Children then entered their classes & began studying. As for P&R, most attention was put on encouragement & rewards, & much less on punishment. ¹⁶ As part of their studies, children were shown different animals & insects. ¹⁷ Children sat on separate chairs at tables, where they also ate their lunch, which they brought from home, & were taught how to eat. ¹⁸ At the end of each K-level school year, a party was thrown, to which local authorities ¹⁹ & children's parents were invited, & during which the children performed a variety of activities, such as songs, plays, poems & recitations (<i>diklamib</i>). ²⁰

Name	In	Year Founded	Founder	Location & Size	Type	Staff	No., Age & Religion of Children	Tuition Fees	Notes
INA	Qazvin ²¹	INA	Haji Isma'il Khalili	Home of F	K	INA	INA	INA	
INA	Najafabad ²²	INA	Ustad Hajjiyyih Khanum Rahmani (1877-1967)	Home of F	K	INA	INA	INA	

TABLE 3
PARTIAL LIST OF PROMINENT NON-BAHA'I IRANIANS
WHO STUDIED AT THE TARBİYAT SCHOOLS
IN TEHRAN

Name of Student	Position/s held	Notes
Diba, Amir Nasir	Held a high position at the royal court	Son of Nasir al-Saltanih (Tabataba'i) Diba, from Tehran's aristocracy
Diba, Faridih Khanum	Mother of Farah Pahlavi	In gratitude to her educators at Tarbiyat-i Banat, she used to invite Ms Milahat, Farrukhangiz Khanum Mishgin-Nafs and Ruhangiz Khanum Fath-i A'zam to the royal court after the marriage of her daughter, Farah, to Muhammad Riza Shah (1959)
Diba, Mu'iz al-Din		Son of Nasir al-Saltanih (Tabataba'i) Diba, from Tehran's aristocracy
Farman Farmaian, 'Alidad		Son of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, Nusrat al-Daulih II, Salar-i Lashkar, Amir-i Tuman (1859–1939) (grandson of 'Abbas Mirza Nayib al-Saltanih and son-in-law of Muzaffar al-Din Shah); attended Tarbiyat shortly before its closure
Farman Farmaian, Ali-Naqi		Son of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, as above; attended Tarbiyat shortly before its closure
Farman Farmaian, Abol Bashar	International lawyer; practised law in Iran	Son of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, as above; studied law at Chicago and Columbia Universities

Name of Student	Position/s held	Notes
Farman Farmaian, Farough	Owned (together with his brother, Rashid) the F. F. Consulting Firm – a Privately owned construction firm; consultant to the Plan & Budgeting Organization of Iran on the most grand and expensive construction projects during Muhammad Riza Shah's reign (such as dams, etc.), and executed many of them	Son of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, as above; studied civil engineering at the University of Illinois
Farman Farmaian, Manuchihr	Holder of one of the highest positions in the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) and in the Treasury	Son of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, as above; studied chemical engineering in the United Kingdom; author of <i>Blood and Oil: Memoirs of A Persian Prince</i> (New York: Random House, 1997). When the Tarbiyat was ordered to close (December 1934), his father asked the school to introduce to him someone from Tarbiyat to take charge of supervising the education of his sons. Muhammad Dastani-Kashani was introduced and he filled that position. After the sons reached high positions in Iran, they sent Mr Dastani-Kashani to the USA to live there, and every year covered all the costs of his travel to Iran to visit his friends and relatives
Farman Farmaian, Sabbar ¹	Head of the Pasteur Institute in Iran; UN's envoy to Egypt to supervise medical and sanitation affairs	Son of 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, as above; after Tarbiyat he studied medicine in Geneva; for his specialization he went to the United Kingdom

Name of Student	Position/s held	Notes
Farman Farmaian, Sartareh	Founder and director of Tehran School of Social Work (1957–79)	Daughter of ‘Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, as above; author of <i>Daughter of Persia</i> (New York: Crown Publishers, 1992)
Furughi, Mahmud	One of the high officials of the NIOC; Iranian ambassador to Washington before the 1979 Revolution	Son of Zuka’ al-Mulk Furughi, Iranian prime minister during late reign of Riza Shah and early period of Muhammad Riza Shah’s reign
Irani, Husayn	Founder of <i>Kbandaniba</i> journal; one of the main publishers of his time; became member of Majlis-i Shura-yi Milli (National Consultative Assembly)	After Tarbiyat, he continued his studies in journalism at Tehran University
Kaviyani, Mahmud	Director General of Iranian Railways during Riza Shah period	Son of one of the famous merchants of the Tehran Bazaar; after Tarbiyat he continued his studies in Germany, where he received his degree in mechanical engineering; returned to Iran and served in the Iranian Railways; during WWII was arrested, together with some other Iranians who studied in Germany (such as Ja‘far Sharif Imami, later senator and prime minister), by the invading Allied forces and kept in the Arak Camp for several years
Khanlari, Parviz Natil	One of the leading Iranian scholars during the reign of Muhammad Riza Shah, who appointed him as senator	Studied during his primary years at Tarbiyat; his academic studies were done at Tehran University, where he received his PhD
Muqtadir, ‘Abd al-Husayn	Director General of the Treasury	

Name of Student	Position/s held	Notes
Muzayani, ???	Director General of the Ministry of Culture	
Nahvi, Sipahbud Iraj Mirza	Commander of the Southern Command of the Iranian Army under Riza Shah (with HQ in Ahvaz)	His wife had close friendly relations with Riza Shah's wife (Muhammad Riza Shah's mother)
Pahlavi, Ashraf	Muhammad Riza Shah's twin sister	Was a student of the Tarbiyat-i Banat School, but it seems that she did not attend the classes; rather, teachers from that school, under the personal supervision of Farrukhangiz Mishgin-Nafs, went to the royal palace to teach her and help her in her studies and exams
Pahlavi, Muhammad Riza Shah	The second Pahlavi king (1941–79)	Since Tarbiyat was close to Riza Shah's residence, Muhammad Riza studied there for a short while, and later moved to Madrasah-yi Nizam after it was founded
Pahlavi, Shams	Muhammad Riza Shah's sister	Was a student of the Tarbiyat-i Banat School, but appears not to have attended the classes; instead, teachers from the school, under the personal supervision of Farrukhangiz Mishgin-Nafs, went to the royal palace to teach her and help her in her studies and exams
Sanjari, Hishmat	Became a renowned musician	

Source: Most information in this table has been kindly and generously provided by two people: Ms Sattareh Farman Farmaian, from Los Angeles, California, USA; and Mr H. Ashraf, from Vancouver, Canada. I am indebted to both.

NOTES

PREFACE

- 1 The terms 'Babi-Baha'i' and 'Baha'i' are two forms used in this study which in principle have the same meaning, the only difference being that the former visibly shows the close connection and continuity of the same faith, which is composed of two main periods, namely that of the Babi movement (1844–52) and that of the Baha'i faith (1863 onwards).
- 2 See Chapter Two and p. 214 note 134 for further discussion on the differentiation between Babis and Baha'is. For estimates about their numbers, see p. 210 note 80, and Peter Smith, 'A Note on Babi and Baha'i Numbers in Iran', *Iranian Studies* 17, 2–3 (Spring-Summer 1984): 295–301.
- 3 A. Reza Arasteh, *Education and Social Awakening in Iran, 1850–1968* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969).
- 4 David Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- 5 Monica Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2001).
- 6 *Ibid.*, 168, 174, 175, 199.
- 7 Menashri, *Education*, 60–3, 91–124.
- 8 Huma Natiq, *Karnamih-yi Farhangi-yi Farangi dar Iran, 1837–1921* (Tehran: Mu'assasah-yi Farhangi, Hunari, Intisharati-yi Mu'asir-Pazhuhan, s. 1380/2001–2).
- 9 Such as Joseph S. Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 169–78, 230–52.
- 10 Such as Maryam Ekhtiar, 'The Dar al-Fonoun: Educational Reform and Cultural Development in Qajar Iran' (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1994); Samad Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz: Duvvumin Markaz-i Amuzish-i 'Aali-yi Iran* (Tabriz: Intisharat-i Nida-yi Shams, s. 1382/2003–4); Mir Assadullah Musavi Maku'i, *Dabiristan-i Alburz va Shabanib-ruzi-yi An* (Tehran: Nashr-i Bisutun, s. 1379/2000).
- 11 Such as Mohammad Farhad Atai, 'The Sending of Iranian Students to Europe, 1811–1906' (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1992).
- 12 Such as Sayed-Reyhan Safavi-Hemami, 'An Historical Perspective of the Cultural Influences on Curriculum in Iranian Education with Emphasis on the Period 1900–1980' (PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1980).
- 13 Such as Ali Rezaian, 'Western Education, Social and Cultural Change in Iran' (PhD dissertation, United States International University, 1982).

- 14 'Education', *Elr* 8 (1998): 178–237 (only those sections which concern pre-school, elementary and secondary schooling in Iran during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods).
- 15 Suhayla Turabi Farsani, ed., *Asnadi az Madaris-i Dukhtaran az Masbrutib ta Pablavi* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Saziman-i Asnad-i Milli-yi Iran, s. 1378/1999).
- 16 Such as Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat[-i Banin] (Farsani, *Asnadi*, 6, 54, 61, 64, 65, 68, 70, 88, 89, 116, 117, 123) Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat al-Banat (69, 70, 89), Madrasah-yi Taufiq (69), Madrasah-yi Sa'adat (69), Madrasah-yi Sa'adat-i Isfahan (4), Madrasah-yi Mauhibat (56), and Madrasah-yi Mauhibat-i Dukhtaran-i Hamadan (54).
- 17 Baha'is do actually believe that Muhammad was the *Khatim al-Anbiya'* in that he was the last manifestation to prophesy the coming of the Day of God in the 'Adamic Cycle'. The latter is the first of the two sub-cycles which together comprise the 'Universal Cycle' of interrelated prophets. The Adamic Cycle began with the prophet Adam and ended with the declaration of the Bab in 1844, during which successive manifestations (the last one of which was Muhammad) announced the future establishment of a kingdom of God on earth. The second sub-cycle is the 'Baha'i Cycle', during which the kingdom will be established. On the Baha'i notion of *Khatim al-Anbiya'* and the various cycles, see Heshmat Moayyad, 'The Historical Interrelationship of Islam and the Baha'i Faith', in *The Baha'i Faith and Islam*, ed. H. Moayyad (Ottawa: Association for Baha'i Studies, 1990), 73–91; Seena Fazel and Khazeh Fananapazir, 'A Baha'i Approach to the Claim of Finality in Islam', *The Journal of Baha'i Studies* 5, 3 (1993): 17–40; Peter Smith, *A Concise Encyclopedia of the Baha'i Faith* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2000), 338; and Kamran Hakim, 'A Personal Interpretation of the Term 'Seal of the Prophets', <http://babai-library.com/essays/seal.html>, accessed 5 September 2008.
- 18 As far as I recall, a census from the early 1970s (I believe it was 1971) did not mention the Baha'is at all, although they were definitely the largest religious minority in Iran. The census did, however, mention the other religious minorities – Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews – although they were far smaller minorities.
- 19 There are, however, a small number of non-Baha'i scholars who have written unprejudiced works on the Baha'is of Iran. See, for example, the articles by Houchang E. Chehabi, Eliz Sanasarian, Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi and Reza Afshari in the recently published *The Baha'is of Iran: Socio-Economic Studies*, ed. Dominic Parviz Brookshaw and Seena B. Fazel (London: Routledge, 2008).
- 20 Firuz Kazemzadeh, 'Misuse of History', *World Order* 35, 3 (2004): 26.
- 21 For example, in his study of the Dar al-Funun, Hashimiyani mentions Sha'ib Birjis, a famed Iranian Baha'i scholar in medicine, along with the fact that he studied in the Vahdat-i Bashar School in Kashan, without mentioning that both the person and the school were Baha'i; see Ahmad (Iraq) Hashimiyani, *Tabavvulat-i Farhangi-yi Iran dar Daurih-yi Qajariyyih va Madrasah-yi Dar al-Funun* (Tehran: Mu'assasih-yi Jughrafiya'i va Kartographi-yi Sahab, s. 1379/2000), 490.
- 22 There are a very small number of non-Baha'i scholars of Iran who have used Baha'i sources in at least one of their works.
- 23 This also seems to be the case concerning materials written by members of the other religious minorities, which, apart from their own religious and communal affairs, might also contain more general information that could be useful for other research or studies on Iran. However, they differ from the Baha'i sources in two major aspects: first, they are mostly written in a different language from Persian (Armenian, Syriac, Perso-Judaic, etc.), while Iranian Baha'i sources are mainly in Persian; and second, the other minorities did not assimilate into Iranian society as did the Baha'is.
- 24 See, for example, the following URLs: <http://babai-library.com>; <http://reference.babai.org>; <http://www.b-net.org/~babai>.
- 25 The publication of *The Baha'is of Iran: Socio-Historical Studies* is a welcome and important

- addition by Baha'is as well as non-Baha'i scholars of modern Iran to the study of the role of Baha'is in a range of important fields, such as the emancipation of women, education and health, as well as some other aspects of Baha'i history in Iran (such as conversion of Jews and Zoroastrians to the Baha'i faith, the persecution of Babis and Baha'is in Iran, secular and Islamist anti-Baha'ism and human rights violations of Baha'is in Iran).
- 26 Such as General Shu'a'ullah 'Ala'i (chief financier in the Iranian army under Riza Shah); Habib Thabit and Huzhabr Yazdani (the famous Baha'i businessmen); General 'Abd al-Karim Ayadi (Muhammad Riza Shah's private physician); Hushang Mahmudi (the famous TV producer and presenter, especially of children's programmes); 'Abd al-Mithaq Mithaqiyyih (the founder of the Mithaqiyyih Hospital); and many more. In his book, Zahidani claims the following figures as Baha'is: Timsar Ayyadi, Amir 'Abbas Huvayda (longest-serving prime minister in Iran during the twentieth century), Malihih Na'imi (wife of Sipahbud Parviz Khusrauani, head of the central command of the Iranian Gendarmerie in the 1960s and manager of the Taj Sports Club), Sipahbud Assadullah Sani'i (a Lieutenant-General in the Iranian army), and Hushang Nahavandi (president of Shiraz and Tehran universities). See Sayyid Sa'id Zahid Zahidani (with Muhammad-'Ali Salami), *Baba'iyyat dar Iran* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Markaz-i Asnad-i Inqilab-i Islami, s. 1381/2002), 238–48. Chehabi adds a few other names, such as Fu'ad Rauhani (first secretary general of OPEC, 1961–4); Mahnaz Afkhami (Iran's first minister of women's affairs); Farrukh-ru Parsa (Iran's first female cabinet member); and Parviz Thabiti (a high-ranking official in the SAVAK, the secret police agency). See Houchang E. Chehabi, 'Anatomy of Prejudice: Reflections on Secular anti-Baha'ism in Iran', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 184–99 (esp. 188–91). Not all those listed above were actually members of the Baha'i community, however. According to Chehabi, 'Baha'is use the term *Baba'izada*, meaning child of a Baha'i, for people with a Baha'i background who are not themselves members of the religious community' (188–9). Thus, it seems that a distinction made between someone who is born into a Baha'i family (*Baba'izada* or *Baba'izadib*) – who may or may not be an affiliated member of the Baha'i community – and someone who is a practicing Baha'i.
- 27 See, for example, Furugh Arbab, *Khanib-yi Muqaddas-i Man: Sharb-i Mukhtasari az Madaris-i Tarbiyat va digar Madaris-i Baha'i* (n.p., n.d.) (BWC library catalogue no. Pam 148–1296); Habib Thabit, *Sarguzasht-i Habib Thabit bib Qalam-i Khud-i Isban*, ed. Iraj and Hurmuz Thabit (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1993), 7–8, 17–21; and a number of very short memoirs in the Baha'i monthly *Payam-i Baha'i*.
- 28 Such as Vahid Rafati, 'Bahai Faith. X. Bahai Schools', *Elr* 3 (1989): 467–70; 'Abbas Thabit, *Tarikhchih-yi Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banin* (New Delhi: Mirat Publications, 1997); Shaqayiq Iqani, 'Tarikhchih-yi Madaris-i Baha'i-yi Mazandaran' (MA thesis, MAMA, 2002); Ruzita Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih-yi Madaris-i Baha'i dar Iran' (MA thesis, MAMA, 1996); Heshmat Moayyad, 'Scholarly Dilettantism and Tampering with History: An Episode in the Baha'i History of Iran', in *Yad-nama: In Memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti and Lucia Rostagno (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1991), vol. 1: *Islamistica*, 329 (327–33); Moojan Momen, 'Madrasah-yi Baha'i dar Iran', trans. Kiyumarth Mazlum, *Khushiba'i az Kharmar-i Adab va Hunar* 15 (162 BE/s. 1384/2005): 220–46; and, 'Baha'i Schools in Iran', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 94–121.
- 29 See, for example, Craig C. Howard, *Theories of General Education: A Critical Approach* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).
- 30 For example, see Ramin Jahanbegloo (ed.), *Iran: Between Tradition and Modernity* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), or Muhammad Salar Kasra'i, *Chalish-i Sunnat va Mudirnitib dar Iran: Az Mashrutib ta 1320* (Tehran: Nashr-i Markaz, s. 1379/2000), for a discussion of such theories in the Iranian context.

- 31 Mainly by Shaqayiq Iqani and Ruzita Vathiqi; see above, note 28.
 32 Again, one needs to mention the recent publication of Brookshaw and Fazel (eds.), *The Baha'is of Iran*, as a welcome exception.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Muhammad-Hasan Asif, *Mabani-yi Idi'uluzbik-i Hukumat dar Dauran-i Pablavi* (Tehran: Markaz-i Asnad-i Inqilab-i Islami, s. 1384/2005), 121–3.
- 2 Jamshid Behnam, 'Iranian Society, Modernity, and Globalization', in *Iran: Between Tradition and Modernity*, ed. Ramin Jahanbegloo, 3–4.
- 3 Jamshid Behnam, *Iraniyan va Andisib-i Tajaddud* (Tehran: Farzan, s. 1375/1996), 23.
- 4 'Abd al-Razzaq Maftun Dunbuli, *Ma'atbir-i Sultaniyyib: Tarikh-i Jangba-yi Iran va Rus*, ed. Ghulam-Husayn Sadri Afshar (Tehran: Ibn Sina, s. 1351/1972; 1st edn, Tabriz, AH 1241/1825–6), 143.
- 5 See, for example, the books by Abu Talib Isfahani (*Masir-i Talibi fi Bilad-i Afranji*, AH 1214/1799) and Mirza Salih Shirazi (his book of travels and studies in England, AH 1230/1819) – two of the earlier students sent abroad. Isfahani was the first to report about the French Revolution, while Shirazi spoke of the rule of law, the judiciary, *masbvirat-khanib* (parliament) and more. See Asif, *Mabani*, 126.
- 6 Husayn Mahbubi Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat-i Tamaduni-yi Jadid dar Iran* (3 vols., Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, s. 1354/1975), 1: 243–44.
- 7 Peter Smith, *The Baha'i Faith: A Short History* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1999), 17–18; Juan Cole, 'Bahai Faith. I. The Faith', *Elr* 3 (1989): 438.
- 8 Moojan Momen, 'The Social Basis of the Babi Upheavals in Iran (1848–53): A Preliminary Analysis', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15, 2 (May 1983): 157–83.
- 9 Abbas Amanat, 'Qajar Iran: A Historical Overview', in *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925*, ed. Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtiar (London: I.B.Tauris and the Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1999), 22.
- 10 Smith, *The Baha'i Faith*, 32.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 37.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 35–6.
- 13 Thousands of Babis were either killed or massacred in the State-Babi clashes and following the failed attempt on Nasir al-Din Shah's life in 1852. According to one Baha'i document 'about thirty thousand [Babi/Baha'i] men . . . not saving women nor infants' were massacred; see a petition signed by 53 Baha'is in Shushtar, addressed to the US Congress, and submitted to J. Augustus Johnson (US Consul General, Beirut, 1858–70), dated Shushtar, 10 Dhu al-Qa'da 1283/16 March 1867, in 'Persecution and Protection: Documents about Baha'is, 1867, 1897, and 1902', *World Order* 37, 3 (2006): 33. See also Abbas Amanat, 'The Historical Roots of the Persecution of Babis and Baha'is in Iran', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 170–83, for a discussion of these figures and a detailed account of the persecution of Babis and Baha'is in Iran.
- 14 The number 19 – equivalent to the words *wahid* (God's unity) and *wujud* (God's absolute being) – is greatly emphasized in the Babi and Baha'i religions.
- 15 Smith, *The Baha'i Faith*, 64–73.
- 16 For more details on this issue, see Fereyduun Vahman, 'The Conversion of Zoroastrians to the Baha'i Faith', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 30–48; and Susan Stiles (Maneck), 'Early Zoroastrian Conversions to the Baha'i Faith in Yazd, Iran', in *From Iran East and West: Studies in Babi and Baha'i History* 2, ed. Juan R. Cole and Moojan Momen (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1984), 67–94.

- 17 For more details on the conversion of Jews to the Baha'i faith, see Mehrdad Amanat, 'Messianic Expectation and Evolving Identities: The Conversion of Iranian Jews to the Baha'i Faith', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 6–29; Arsalan Geula, *Iranian Baha'is from Jewish Background: A Portrait of an Emerging Baha'i Community* (Claremont, CA: Independent Publisher Arsalan Geula, 2008); Jean-François Faü, 'Juifs et Baha'is en Iran, 1844–1920', *Revue des Études Juives* 163, 1–2 (January–June 2004): 257–71; Amnon Netzer, 'Conversion. IV. of Persian Jews to Other Religions', *Elr* 6 (1993): 234–6; and Walter J. Fischel, 'Die Behai-Bewegung und ihr Einfluss auf die Judenheit Persiens', *Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* 11, 3 (November 1932): 60–3. For the conversion of both Zoroastrians and Jews in Iran to the Baha'i faith, see also Susan Stiles Maneck, 'The Conversion of Religious Minorities to the Baha'i Faith in Iran: Some Preliminary Observations', *The Journal of Baha'i Studies* 3, 3 (1990): 35–48.
- 18 Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani (1854–1896): born to a small land-holding family in Kirman with a history of religious unorthodoxy; studied at *maktabs* with Haj Sayyid Javad Shirazi and Akhund Mulla Ja'far, the father of Shaykh Ahmad Ruhi; tax official in Kirman, 1881; left Kirman for Isfahan and entered service of Zill al-Sultan, 1884; went to Tehran, Mashhad, then Istanbul, 1886; in Cyprus married the daughter of the Azali Babi leader, Mirza Yahya Nuri Azal, 1886; worked on the Istanbul-published Persian newspaper *Akhtar*, 1886–91; collaborated with Mirza Malkum Khan on the London-published Persian newspaper, *Qanun*, from 1891; and with Jamal al-Din al-Afghani on pan-Islamic projects, from 1892; exiled by Ottoman authorities to Trabzon, 1895; extradited to Iran after the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah and executed in Tabriz, 1896. Shaul Bakhash, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajars, 1858–1896* (London: Ithaca Press for the Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, 1978), 381.
- 19 Mirza Fath-'Ali Akhundzadieh (1812–1878): born into an Azeri family; his father was first a district officer (*kadkhuda*) in Azerbaijan, and later a merchant in the Caucasus; spent boyhood in Caucasus; was educated in various *maktabs*, 1825–34; translator on staff of Russian commander of the Caucasus in Tiflis, 1834; taught Turkish at Tiflis, 1836; promoted to translator in Oriental languages on commander's staff, from 1840; translator to Russian mission in Iran, 1848; presented plan for reform of Arabic alphabet in Istanbul, where he met Malkum Khan, 1863; wrote satirical plays, 1850–7; an essay on reform of the Arabic script, 1858; *Maktubat-i Kamal al-Daulih*, 1862–3; and various essays on history and literature, translations from John Stuart Mill, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti and Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, 1862–77. Bakhash, *Iran*, 375–6.
- 20 Mirza Yusif Khan Mustashar al-Daulih (d. 1895), was a high-ranking Iranian official and intellectual. Embarking on a diplomatic career, he served as consul in Astrakhan (1854–62) and Bombay (1884–6), chargé d'affaires in St. Petersburg (1862–3) and Paris (1867–71), and foreign ministry agent (*karguzar*) in Mashhad (1873) and Tabriz (1889). In 1871 he was appointed deputy minister of justice under Mirza Husayn Khan Mushir al-Daulih, a post which he held until 1872, and was later (1873) reappointed with the title 'Mustishar al-Daulih'. He advised a number of cabinet ministers in the 1870s and early 1880s. In 1882 he was dismissed from government service and imprisoned for several months on the charge of writing critical articles for the newspaper *Akhtar*, criticizing the injustices committed by cabinet bureaucracies. In 1883 he was rehabilitated and sent to Bombay as a consular official to the Iranian embassy and later (1889) he was given a post in Tabriz. In 1890–1 he was arrested again (this time due to his links with Mirza Malkum Khan, who had become a dissident and fierce critic of Nasir al-Din Shah, and for association with Malkum Khan's newspaper, *Qanun*), and was sent to Qazvin in chains and beaten. He was freed after a few months, and died five years later. His famous book is *Yik Kalamih* ('One Word'), in which he

- regarded the rule of law and basic human rights as the crux of modernity and progress. It was because of his book that he was favoured by reformers such as Mirza Husayn Khan Mushir al-Daulih, and advised a number of cabinet ministers in the 1870s and early 1880s. Juan R. I. Cole, *Modernity and the Millennium: The Genesis of the Baha'i Faith in the Nineteenth-Century Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 86–7. For more on his ideas, see Mirza Yusuf Khan Mustashar al-Daulih, *Yik Kalamih*, ed. Sadiq Sajjadi (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1985).
- 21 Muhammad Shafi' Qazvini: a hat maker and shopkeeper in Qazvin, who supported the rule of law and was concerned about corruption and arbitrariness among high government officials; Cole, *Modernity*, 87–8.
 - 22 For a discussion of their thoughts on reform and modernization in general, and in education in particular, see Chapter 2 of this book; Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Ringer, *Education*, 213–38; Menashri, *Education*, 29–45.
 - 23 See, for example, the following *alwab* (tablets) of Baha'u'llah: *Bisbarat* and *Dunya*, and his tablets to *Muluk va Salatin* (Kings and Rulers) in Baha'u'llah, *Tablets of Baha'u'llah after the Kitab-i-Aqdas*, 2nd edn (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1988), 19–29, 81–97; and *The Proclamations of Baha'u'llah to the Kings and Leaders of the World*, 2nd edn (Haifa: BWC, 1972); and Abdu'l-Baha, *Risalib-yi Madaniyyib*, translated as *The Secret of Divine Civilization*, trans. Marzieh Gail and Ali-Kuli Khan, 3rd edn (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1990).
 - 24 See Juan Cole, 'Iranian Millenarianism and Democratic Thought in the Nineteenth Century', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, 1 (February 1992): 1–26; Kavian Sadiqzadih Milani, 'Nihzat-i Mashrutiyat va Diyanat-i Baha'i', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 321–2 (August 2006): 14–20, 90–7; Turaj Amini, 'Naqsh-i Aqaliyyatha-yi Mazhabi dar Inqilab-i Mashrutih: Babiyan va Baha'iyān', in http://www.gofiman-iran.org/index2.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=262, accessed on 5 July 2006.
 - 25 'Abbas Mirza Nayib al-Saltanib (1789–1833) was the third son of Fath-'Ali Shah; declared crown prince (*nayib al-saltanib*) and appointed governor-general of the province of Azerbaijan, 1799; led Iranian troops in two wars against Russia (1804–13 and 1826–8); was responsible for early nineteenth-century attempts at military reform, collectively named *nizam-i jadid*; was the first to initiate the sending of Iranian students abroad, beginning in 1811; had numerous sons who held important posts during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah. For more on him, see Emineh Pakravan, *Abbas Mirza* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1973).
 - 26 Mirza Abu al-Qasim Qa'im-Maqam II (1811–1835): son of Mirza Buzurg, the Qa'im-Maqam I; entered Azerbaijan service under 'Abbas Mirza, February 1811; given the title of 'Qa'im-Maqam' (Deputy), 1821; dismissed from Azerbaijan government and entered that of Hamadan as minister (*vazir*), 1823; returned to Azerbaijan service and married ninth daughter of Fath-'Ali Shah, 1823; opposed the second war against Russia (1826–8); appointed prime minister under Muhammad Shah and began an extensive programme of reform, 1834; due to endeavours of opponents, Muhammad Shah ordered his arrest and death (by strangulation), 1835. Was known to be a brilliant statesman and poet laureate. Mihdi Bamdad, *Sharh-i Hal-i Rijal-i Iran dar Qarn-i 12 va 13 va 14 Hijri* (6 vols., Tehran: Zuvvar, 1968–75), 1: 60–5.
 - 27 Mirza Taqi Khan Farahani Amir Kabir (d. 1852): son of cook to Mirza Abu al-Qasim Qa'im-Maqam II, Muhammad Shah's prime minister; muster-master (*mustaufi-yi nizam*) to Azerbaijani army, 1829; *vazir* of Azerbaijan army, 1835; negotiator on Irano-Ottoman frontier commission at Erzurum, 1844–6; *vazir* of Azerbaijan Province, 1843; prime minister and commander of the army to Nasir al-Din Shah, 1848; introduced extensive reforms in the country, among which was the foundation of the Dar al-Funun – the first modern polytechnic to be opened in Iran by the state, 1848–51; dismissed, November 1851; executed in Fin,

- Kashan, January 1852. Bakhsh, *Iran*, 377–8. For more on him, see Firiyyun Adamiyyat, *Amir Kabir va Iran*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Amir Kabir, s. 1334/1955).
- 28 Mirza Husayn Khan Qazvini Mushir al-Daulih (1828–1881): after studying briefly in Paris, entered the foreign service and was appointed consul in Bombay, 1851; consul in Tiflis, 1855–8; minister, then ambassador, to Istanbul, 1858–70; minister of justice and of pensions and endowments, December 1870; minister of war and commander-in-chief of the army (*sipahsalar*), September 1871; prime minister (*sadr-i a'zam*), November 1871; accompanied Nasir al-Din Shah to Europe, summer 1873; dismissed from posts, September 1873; appointed foreign minister, December 1873; and minister of war, 1874; confirmed in these posts by royal decree in a dual division of all authority between himself and Mustaufi al-Mamalik, 1877–8; reconfirmed in these posts by royal decree in tripartite division of authority between himself, Mustaufi al-Mamalik and Kamran Mirza, 1878; dismissed from posts, 1880; briefly governor of Qazvin, 1880; and of Azerbaijan, 1880–1; led mission to Russia at accession of Alexander III, 1881; governor of Khurasan, 1881. Bakhsh, *Iran*, 383–4. For more on him, see Azriel Karny, 'Mirza Hosein Khan Moshir od-Dowle and His Attempts at Reform in Iran, 1871–1873' (PhD dissertation, UCLA, 1973).
- 29 Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih (1844–1904): son of Muhammad Khan Majd al-Mulk, chief secretary to Muhammad Shah's mother, and under Nasir al-Din Shah a member of the foreign ministry and a minister of pensions and endowments; accompanied father to Baghdad on a mission to discuss outstanding Iran-Ottoman questions, 1858–9; after serving in foreign ministry, appointed secretary (*munsbi-yi buzur*) to Nasir al-Din Shah, 1870; private secretary to shah (*vazir-i rasa'il-i kbasib*), and entitled 'Amin al-Mulk', 1873; chairman of *dar al-shura-yi kubra* (the great council) (and the *majlis-i tahtiq*, or 'inquiry council'), 1875 to its dissolution in early 1890s; head of mint, 1875–6; minister of posts, 1876–95, when he gave post to his son; minister of pensions and endowments, 1881, a post which later passed to his brother; title of 'Amin al-Daulih', 1883; accompanied shah to Europe, 1873, 1878, 1889. Bakhsh, *Iran*, 376. For more on him and his reforms, see Shaul Bakhsh, 'The Failure of Reform: The Prime Ministership of Amin al-Dawla, 1897–8', in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Change, 1800–1925*, ed. Edmund Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1992): 14–33.
- 30 'Ali-Quli Mirza I'tizad al-Saltanih (1822–1880): a Qajar prince; *vazir* to Mahd-i 'Ulya, Nasir al-Din Shah's mother; title of 'I'tizad al-Saltanih', 1856; director of the Dar al-Funun, first minister of education under the Qajars, and sent 42 students, mostly Dar al-Funun graduates, for study in Paris, 1858; also minister of industry and mines, of commerce, and director of the official gazette, 1866; member of *dar al-shura-yi kubra*, 1871; accompanied Nasir al-Din Shah on his first trip to Europe, 1873; supervised the *Namih-yi Danisbvaran* (lit., 'Book of Scholars'), the first modern Iranian encyclopaedia, 1877, with first volume out in 1879; minister of justice, 1878. Bakhsh, *Iran*, 378. More on him, see Abbas Amanat, 'E'tezad-al-Saltana', *Elr* 8 (1998): 669–72.
- 31 Muhammad Khan Majd al-Mulk (1809–73): a cabinet member in the 1860s and 1870s and member of Faramush-khanih (1860–1); supported state guarantee for the preservation of life and property, and the freedom of conscience and expression of all Iranians, and called for the separation of powers; stressed the importance of an informed public opinion and urged the newspapers to play an active role in creating it; attacked some Qajar officials for being especially corrupt and oppressive. For more on him and his reformist ideas, see Muhammad Khan Majd al-Mulk, *Risalih-yi Majdiyyib (Bist Sal Ba'd az Amir Kabir)*, ed. 'Ali Amini and Fazlullah Gurgani (Tehran: n.p., 1985); Bamdad, *Sharb-i Hal*, 3: 286–9.
- 32 Mirza Muhammad-Husayn Khan Farahani Dabir al-Mulk: a Qajar high official, who claimed that reform depended on four pillars of state policy: firm financial footing; establishment of a

- drilled standing army; increasing the prosperity of the subjects; forming alliances with foreign powers. Cole, *Modernity*, 87–8. For more on his ideas, see Mirza Husayn Khan Dabir al-Mulk, 'Risalih-yi Siyasi', in Firiyyun Adamiyyat and Huma Natiq, *Afkar-i Ijtima'i va Siyasi va Iqtisadi dar Athar-i Muntashir-nashudih-yi Daurib-yi Qajar* (Tehran: Agah, s. 1356/1977), 420–48.
- 33 Husayn Sultanzadieh, *Muqaddamib'i bar Tarikh-i Shabr va Shabr-nishini dar Iran*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Amir Kabir, s. 1367/1988–9), 167, 169–70.
- 34 On the reforms in Meiji Japan, see Morris Low (ed.), *Building a Modern Japan: Science, Technology and Medicine in the Meiji Era and Beyond* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- 35 On the material progress of India under British rule, see, for example, Radhey Shyan Chaurasia, *History of Modern India: 1707 A.D. up to 2000 A.D.* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2002), esp. 35–268.
- 36 For a more detailed discussion of the external and internal pressures for change, reform and modernization, see Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–7), 2: *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975*; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), and *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1999); Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Suraiya Faroghi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004).
- 37 Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 493–501; Malcolm E. Yapp, *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792–1923* (London: Longman, 1987), 97–120.
- 38 On the reforms in Egypt during the short period of French rule and afterwards, see P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Egypt*, 2nd edn (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), esp. 30–244; M. W. Daly (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt* (2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2: *Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, chs. 5–8, 11.
- 39 Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 512–16; Yapp, *The Making*, 145–57.
- 40 Lewis, *Emergence*, 111–16, 130–2; Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2: 47–8, 89–90, 106–13, 249–51.
- 41 Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 155–9, 173–5.
- 42 Mirza Salih Shirazi, *Majmu'ih-yi Safarnamib-yi Mirza Salih Shirazi* (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, s. 1364/1985), 130, 138–9, 142, 146, 316–17; Mirza Mustafa Afshar, *Safarnamib-yi Khusrau Mirza bib Petersburg*, ed. Muhammad Gulbun (Tehran: Kitabkhanih-yi Mustaufi, s. 1349/1971), 235–7, 329, 352, 357. Mirza Salih Shirazi was one of the five students sent to Europe in 1815 by 'Abbas Mirza, the crown prince and governor-general of Azerbaijan. Mirza Mustafa Afshar was the official secretary of Prince Khusrau Mirza's mission to Russia after the murder of Griboedov, the Russian emissary to Iran, by a mob. For a detailed analysis of these two travel books and the ideas and views of Shirazi and Afshar, see Ringer, *Education*, 53–65.
- 43 Ja'far Ibn Ishaq, 'Tahaffut al-Muluk' (manuscript, 1825–6) cited in Adamiyat and Natiq, *Afkar-i Ijtima'i*, 32–43.
- 44 On the Dar al-Funun, see Maryam Ekhtiar, 'The Dar al-Fonoun: Educational Reform and Cultural Development in Qajar Iran' (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1994).
- 45 Firiyyun Adamiyyat, *Andishib-yi Tarraqi va Hukumat-i Qanun-i 'Asr-i Sipahsalar* (Tehran: Kharazmi, s. 1351/1972), 16.
- 46 There are many studies on Mirza Malkum Khan, but the main ones are as follows: Hamid

- Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Firishtih Nura'i, *Tabqiq dar Afkar-i Mirza Malkum Khan Nazim al-Daulib* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahami-yi Kitabha-yi Jibi, s. 1352/1973); Isma'il Ra'in, *Mirza Malkum Khan* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Safi-'Ali Shah, s. 1353/1974); and Hujjatullah Asil, *Zindigi va Andisibih-yi Mirza Malkum Khan Nazim al-Daulib* (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, s. 1376/1997), reprinted as *Mirza Malkum Khan Nazim al-Daulib va Nazariyyih-pardazi-yi Mudirmitih-yi Irani* (Tehran: Nashr-i Kavir, s. 1384/2005).
- 47 It was the first reformist society in Qajar Iran aimed at promoting reform and modernization, but due to much opposition to reform and a suspicious shah, it was closed by order of Nasir al-Din Shah on 12 Rabi' al-Thani 1278/17 October 1861, a short time after it had begun operation. Later, after his return to Iran, he founded a new society called *Majma'-i Adamiyyat* (League of Humanity), which in reality was nothing more than the old Faramush-khanih, under a different name. On the Faramush-khanih, see Hamid Algar, 'An Introduction to the History of Freemasonry in Iran', *Middle Eastern Studies* 6, 3 (1970): 276–96.
 - 48 Mirza Malkum Khan Nazim al-Daulih, 'Usul-i Adamiyyat', in *Kulliyat-i Malkum Khan*, ed. Hashim Rabi'zadhi (Tehran: AH 1325/1907), 232–4.
 - 49 Nura'i, *Tabqiq*, 200.
 - 50 Malkum, 'Usul-i Adamiyyat', in *Kulliyat*, 232, and *Majmu'ih-yi Athar-i Mirza Malkum Khan*, ed. Muhit Tabataba'i (Tehran: 'Ilmi, s. 1327/1948), 79–80, 189–91; Nura'i, *Tabqiq*, 103–4.
 - 51 See Cyrus Mansoori, 'European Thought in Nineteenth-Century Iran: David Hume and Others', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61, 4 (Oct. 2000): 657–74, for the influence of contemporary European thought on Iranian intellectuals.
 - 52 Mihdi Malikzadhi, *Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Masbrutiyyat-i Iran*, (7 vols., Tehran: n.p., s. 1327/1949), 1: 152–4.
 - 53 Bihnam, *Andisibih-yi Tajaddud*, 18–28.
 - 54 Nura'i, *Tabqiq*, 72.
 - 55 Malkum, *Majmu'ib*, 8–10, 191.
 - 56 Mirza Malkum Khan, 'Kitabchih-yi Ghaybi' (better known as 'Daftar-i Tanzimat'), in *Majmu'ib*, 45–8.
 - 57 Mirza Malkum Khan, 'Shaykh va Vazir', *Kulliyat*, 87–124; Nura'i, *Tabqiq*, 101. Mirza Fath-'Ali Akhundzadhi, another important intellectual of the period, held even more radical ideas regarding the Arabic alphabet. See Hamid Algar, 'Malkum Khan, Akhundzadeh and the Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet', *Middle Eastern Studies* 5, 2 (1969): 116–30. Together with Munif Pasha, a contemporary scholar at the Ottoman court, Malkum Khan and Akhundzadhi are considered to be the first three individuals, who attempted to alter the Arabic script (1860–70).
 - 58 Adamiyyat, *Andisibih-yi Taraqqi*, 144–53; Guity Nashat, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran, 1870–1880* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 148; Menashri, *Education*, 31.
 - 59 Firiyyun Adamiyyat, *Fikr-i Azadi va Muqaddamih-yi Nibzat-i Masbrutiyyat* (Tehran: Sukhan, s. 1340/1961), 206; Bakhsh, *Iran*, 40.
 - 60 Abu-Talib Bihbihani was a nineteenth-century Iranian intellectual who left Iran in 1866–7 to live in Egypt. Being acquainted with the reforms in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, he supported the implementation of reforms in Iran. He wrote his famous book, *Minhaj al-'Ali* (The Path of 'Ali) (manuscript, 1877–8), while he was in Egypt.
 - 61 Abu-Talib Bihbihani, *Minhaj al-'Ali*, qtd. in Adamiyyat and Natiq, *Afkar-i Ijtima'i*, 99–114; Menashri, *Education*, 32; Ringer, *Education*, 224.
 - 62 'Ali-Bakhsh Qajar was a nineteenth-century Iranian intellectual of lesser fame who, like many other intellectuals of the age in Iran, saw education as a basic ingredient for the progress of Iranian society. Apart from his own writings, he also translated foreign books into Persian.

- One of those, *Livre d'Or* (translated in AH 1291/1874 under the title of *Asrar al-Wujud*, or 'Secrets of Existence') concerned the inventions and discoveries of the nineteenth century.
- 63 Adamiyyat and Natiq, *Afkar-i Ijtima'i* 76–9; Menashri, *Education*, 32.
- 64 Haj Mirza Nasrullah Bihishti Isfahani Malik al-Mutikallimin was born in AH 1277/1860–1 in Isfahan. He was a talented *rauzib-ghan* (a professional narrator of the tragedies of Karbala), who became famous in Isfahan and later throughout Iran because of his great voice and skills in speaking. He was forced out of Isfahan after converting to the Babi-Baha'i faith and found refuge in Tabriz, under the protection of Muzaffar al-Din Mirza, the crown prince and governor of Azerbaijan, who bestowed upon him the title of 'Malik al-Mutikallimin'. Later he established and led, together with Sayyid Jamal al-Din Va'iz, the important pro-Constitutionalist *Anjuman-i Makhfi* (Secret Association). Malik al-Mutikallimin was executed in 1908 by order of Muhammad-'Ali Shah. He wrote two books, *Min al-Khalq ila al-Haqq* (From the People to the Right [of the People]) in which he criticized the Shi'i clerics for their backwardness while promoting his own reformist ideas, and *Rauya-yi Sadiqib* (A Pious Dream), a novel, in which he makes fun of the Shi'i 'ulama' in general, and some of those from Isfahan in particular.
- 65 Malikzadih, *Tarikh-i Inqilab*, 1: 152–4.
- 66 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf (Talibzadih) Tabrizi (1834–1910) was a merchant from Azerbaijan who became acquainted with Western thinking through Russian translations. He supported constitutionalism, new education and secularization. Among his more important books and treatises are *Kitab-i Ahmad* (Istanbul, 1895–6); *Masa'il-i Hayat* (Tiflis, 1908–9); *Masalik al-Mubsinin* (Cairo, 1907–8); *Azadi va Siyasat* (first published in 1911–12; Tehran: Sahar, 1978–9). See Iraj Afshar, 'Talibuf', *Yagbma* 4 (s. 1332/1953–4): 214–21 for more information on him.
- 67 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf Tabrizi, *Kitab-i Ahmad* (Istanbul: n.p., AH 1311/1895–6), 2: 4–5.
- 68 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf Tabrizi, *Azadi va Siyasat* (Tehran: Sahar, s. 1357/1978), 111, 113.
- 69 Talibuf, *Kitab-i Ahmad*, 2: 80–4, 89–90 and *Masa'il-i Hayat* (Tiflis: n.p., AH 1324/1908–9), 60–1, 74–5.
- 70 Adamiyyat, *Fikr-i Azadi*, 182–211; Bamdad, *Sharh-i Hal*, 4: 490–3; Muhammad Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan*, ed. 'Ali-Akbar Sa'idi-Sirjani (2 vols., Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, s. 1358/1979), 1: 206–11.
- 71 Haj Zayn al-'Abidin Maraghih'i (1839–1910) is one of the well-known Iranian liberals and reformists of the Qajar period. At the age of eight he began his studies at the *maktab*, and at 16 – his career as a merchant. At the age of 20 he left for Ardabil, leaving afterwards for Istanbul, where he became resident. He was outside Iran when he wrote his famous work, *Siyabatnamih-yi Ibrahim Big*. The book is written as a social novel, whose hero, Ibrahim Big, is son to an Azeri merchant resident in Egypt. He goes on a pilgrimage to the Shi'i holy city of Mashhad, and it is during this visit that he witnesses the grave state of Iranian society and urges the need for reform.
- 72 Haj Zayn al-'Abidin Maraghih'i, *Siyabatnamih-yi Ibrahim Big* (Cairo, n.d.; later published in Tehran: Asfar, s. 1364/1985), 167, 293–5, 359.
- 73 Ringer, *Education*, 238–40.
- 74 Bibi Khanum Astarabadi, *Ma'ayib al-Rijal*, ed. Afsaneh Najmabadi (Spanga, Sweden: Baran, 1993), 64. Bibi Khanum was the daughter of the Astarabad cavalry commander. Her grandfather served as *qolleraqasi* (head of the royal guards) under Fath-'Ali Shah and her mother was the daughter of Mulla Kazim Mujtahid Mazandarani. She wrote *Ma'ayib al-Rijal* in AH 1312/1894 in response to *Ta'dib al-Nisvan* (Chastisement of Women). On Bibi Khanum Astarabadi, see Afzal Vaziri and Narjis Mihrangiz Mallah, *Bibi Khanum Astarabadi va Khanum-i Afzal Vaziri, Madar va Dukhtari az Pishgaman-i Ma'arif va Huquq-i Zan*, ed. Afsaneh Najmabadi (New York: Nigarish va Nigarish-i Zan, s. 1375/1996–7).

- 75 An important Iranian family from Nur, in the province of Fars. Apart from Mirza Husayn-'Ali Nuri (Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Baha'i faith) and his half-brother, Mirza Yahya Nuri Azal (leader of the Azalis), other prominent members of this family included their uncle, Mirza Aga Khan Nuri (prime minister, 1851–8), and Mirza Na'im Nuri, cousin of the latter (*lashkar-nivis-bashi* (registrar or paymaster) of the military forces of Fars province; governor of Nayriz, 1852; and of Darab and Jahrum, 1856; held great power and influence in Fars during the premiership of his cousin; died, 1875).
- 76 Baha'u'llah, *Epistle to the Son of the Wolf*, trans. Shoghi Effendi (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1976), 27.
- 77 'Abdu'l-Baha, in UHJ (comp.), *Baha'i Education: A Compilation* (London: BPT, 1987), no. 14.
- 78 In Helen Hornby, *Lights of Guidance*, 3rd edn (New Delhi: BPT, 1994), 484.
- 79 Baha'u'llah, in *The Compilation of Compilations* (2 vols., Maryborough, Vic.: Baha'i Publications Australia, 1991), 1: 246, no. 557.
- 80 Baha'u'llah, *A Synopsis and Codification of the Kitab-i-Aqdas, The Most Holy Book of Baha'u'llah*, rev. edn (Haifa: BWC, 1982), 90.
- 81 Baha'u'llah, *Gleanings from the Writings of Baha'u'llah*, trans. Shoghi Effendi (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1983), 259–60, sec. 122.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Baha'u'llah, in *Compilation of Compilations*, 1: 247, no. 561.
- 84 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Some Answered Questions*, trans. Laura Clifford Barney (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1970), 200; *The Promulgation of Universal Peace*, 2nd edn (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1982), 78; and *Baha'i World Faith*, 319.
- 85 *Star of the West*, 9 (13 July 1918): 85. For Baha'u'llah's and 'Abdu'l-Baha's views on the status of women, see Dominic Parviz Brookshaw, 'Instructive Encouragement: Tablets of Baha'u'llah and 'Abdu'l-Baha to Baha'i Women in Iran and India', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 49–93.
- 86 Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, 'Kitab Manahij al-Albab al-Misriyya fi Mabahij al-Adab al-'Asriyya', in *al-A'mal al-Kamilah*, ed. Muhammad al-'Imara (Beirut: Arab Foundation for Study and Publication, 1973–81), 1: 282; for Kashani, see Afsaneh Najmabadi, 'Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran', in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 91–124.
- 87 *Star of the West*, 2 (1 August 1911): 9; 9 (13 July 1918): 85; 10 (1 August 1919): 149. On the role of the Baha'i women in that period, see Moojan Momen, 'The Role of Women in the Iranian Baha'i Community during the Qajar Period', in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*, ed. Robert Gleave (London: RoutledgeCurzon: 2005), 346–69.
- 88 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Promulgation*, 134.
- 89 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Selections from the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Baha* (Haifa: BWC, 1978), 302. 'Abdu'l-Baha also used the two-winged bird example to describe the relations between religion and science.
- 90 'Abdu'l-Baha, qtd. in J. E. Esslemont, *Baha'u'llah and the New Era* (London: BPT, 1974), 141.
- 91 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Paris Talks: Addresses Given by 'Abdu'l-Baha in Paris in 1911–1912*, 10th edn (London: BPT, 1961), 161.
- 92 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Promulgation*, 175.
- 93 Ibid., 108, 284; Sovaida Ma'ani, 'Education and Gender', in *Distinctive Aspects of Baha'i Education: Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Baha'i Education* (Birmingham, April 1991), ed. Hooshang Nikjoo and Stephen Vickers (London: BPT, 1993), 70–1.
- 94 'Sharifatarin Hirfih-yi Jahan', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 302 (January 2005): 44.
- 95 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Makatih 'Abdu'l-Baha* (2 vols., Cairo: Kurdistan al-Ilmiyya, AH 1328/1910), 1: 334.
- 96 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Selections*, 129, no. 103.

- 97 'Abdu'l-Baha, in *Compilation of Compilations*, 1: 253, no. 578.
- 98 Baha'u'llah, *Gleanings*, 250.
- 99 William A. Diehl, 'Exploration and Integration of Baha'i Education', 41.
- 100 Baha'u'llah, *Epistle*, 26–7.
- 101 Baha'u'llah, in *Baha'i Education: A Compilation*, comp. UHJ (London: BPT, 1987), 3, no. 9.
- 102 Baha'u'llah, in *Compilation of Compilations*, 1: 247, no. 560.
- 103 'Abdu'l-Baha *Secret*, 18.
- 104 *Ibid.*, 109.
- 105 The treatise was first printed in Bombay at the Hasani Zivar Press by al-Hajj Muhammad-Husayn al-Hakim al-Baha'i in Rabi' I 1299/January–February 1882. See Cole, *Modernity*, 210 note 12.
- 106 'Abdu'l-Baha wrote his text anonymously and without making any reference to the Baha'i faith because revealing his own identity as a Baha'i leader would have caused the 'ulama' automatically to condemn it, thus preventing any chance of it reaching the people or a wide circulation.
- 107 Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi, *Hayat-i Hazrat-i 'Abdu'l-Baha* (Tehran: MMMA, 128 BE/1971), 42–3.
- 108 Nader Saiedi, 'An Introduction to 'Abdu'l-Baha's *The Secret of Divine Civilization*', in <http://converge.landegg.edu/Saiedi5.htm>, 11, accessed on 30 July 2006.
- 109 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Secret*, 26. Similarly, 'Abdu'l-Baha argued that much of the cultural awakening of the medieval West, which led first to the Renaissance and then to the Reformation, was caused by the progressive force of Islamic culture.
- 110 Cole, *Modernity*, 82.
- 111 Mirza Fath-'Ali Akhundzadieh, *Maktubat*, ed. M. Subhdam (Germany: Intisharat-i Mard-i Imruz, 1985), 16–21.
- 112 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Secret*, 6–12; *Risalib-yi Madaniyyib* (Hofheim-Langenhain: Baha'i-Verlag, 1984), 8–16.
- 113 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Secret*, 1.
- 114 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Selections*, 126.
- 115 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Secret*, 18, 105–10, 118; 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Risalib-yi Madaniyyib*, 124–30.
- 116 Some of the ideas of 'Abdu'l-Baha were shared not only by some Iranian secular intellectuals, but also by a number of the Young Ottomans who were in exile in Acre while 'Abdu'l-Baha was writing his book. For a detailed account of Ottoman reform and the Baha'i faith, see Necati Alkan, 'Ottoman Reform Movements and the Baha'i Faith, 1860s–1920s', in *Studies in Modern Religions, Religious Movements and the Babi-Baha'i Faiths*, ed. Moshe Sharon (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 253–74.
- 117 Cole, *Modernity*, 88.
- 118 Baha'u'llah, *Gleanings*, 215.
- 119 E. G. Browne, 'The Babis of Persia', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21 (1889): 944.
- 120 Ruhullah Mehrabkhani, 'Mahafil-i Shaur dar 'Ahd-i Jamal-i Aqdas-i Abha', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 28 (1982): 9–11 and 29 (1982): 8–9.
- 121 Momen found Baha'is in the following sectors of nineteenth-century Iranian society: members of the Qajar royal family (important princes and major governors), members of the aristocracy (*asbraf*) and officials of the royal court; leading and minor 'ulama'; high state officials; top military officers as well as lower-rank soldiers; big landlords as well as petty land-owners; big merchants (*tujjar*), artisans (*sarrafan*), shopkeepers, commercial agents (*karguzaran*), skilled and unskilled labourers; villagers and farmers; tribesmen; and converts from other religious minorities (mainly Jews and Zoroastrians, but also some Christians). See Moojan Momen, 'A Preliminary Survey of the Baha'i-Community of Iran during the Nineteenth Century', in *Iran im 19. Jahrhundert und die Entstehung der Baha'i-Religion*, ed. Christoph Bürgel and Isabel

- Schayani (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1998), 50–1. For the Persian translation of the article, see Moojan Momen, 'Barrasi-yi Muqadimati az Chigunigi-yi Shikl-giri-yi Jami'ih-yi Baha'i-yi Iran dar Qarn-i Nuzdahum', trans. Hurivash Rahmani, *Pazhubishnamib* 4, 1 (Fall 157 BE/2000): 16–17.
- 122 Harry St John Bridger Philby, *A Pilgrim in Arabia* (London: Robert Hale, 1946), 182.
- 123 Mahmud Zarandi, *Chand Su'al az Kasravi* (Tehran, 1944), 7, qtd. in Amin Banani, *The Modernization of Iran, 1921–1941* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 27, 163 n. 37.
- 124 Oliver Scharbrodt, 'Theological Responses to Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century Middle East: The Examples of Baha'u'llah and Muhammad Abduh', *Lights of 'Irfán* 3 (159 BE/2002): 139.
- 125 Banani, *Modernization*, 26.
- 126 Shapour Rassekh, 'Usul va Zavabit-i Tahqiqat-i Baha'i', *Danish va Binish* 1 (1999: *Daurib-yi Jinab Balyuzi*): 52–3.
- 127 In 1908 'Abdu'l-Baha adopted a temporary policy of non-intervention in politics by Baha'is, a policy which was intensified by his successor and grandson, Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, between 1921 and 1957.
- 128 Inayatkhuda Sifidvash, *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad* (Dundas, ON: Association for Baha'i Studies in Persian, 1999), 61. For a discussion of various Baha'i discourses on the Constitutional Revolution, see Kaviani Milani, 'Baha'i Discourses on the Constitutional Revolution', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 141–55. A rather different explanation of the Baha'i involvement in the Constitutional movement and their support of liberal-democratic government, as well as reforms and modernization, is provided by Sayyid Sa'id Zahidani. According to Zahidani, through this support, the Baha'is could oust their staunch rivals, namely the Shi'i clerics and their religion, from their position of influence, while under the umbrella of liberalism it enabled them to propagate their religion and faith quite easily. See Zahidani, *Baha'iyyat dar Iran*, 219–20.

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Muhammad A. Dandamayev, 'Education. I. In the Achaemenid Period', *EI* 8 (1998): 178; Mehdi Nakosteen, *The History and Philosophy of Education* (New York: Ronald Press, 1965), 46–7; Arasteh, *Education*, 1–4.
- 2 Dandamayev, 'Education', 179.
- 3 Ahmad Tafazzoli, 'Education. II. In the Parthian and Sasanian Periods', *EI* 8 (1998): 179–80.
- 4 During the Sasanid period the University of Jundi-Shapur in Khuzistan was considered 'one of the largest and best equipped institutions of higher education in the world.' See Karim Fatemi and Franklin T. Burroughs, 'Higher Educational Developments in Iran', *Junior College Journal* 40, 2 (October 1969): 21.
- 5 Nakosteen, *History and Philosophy*, 48.
- 6 Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education A.D. 800–1350* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1964), 17.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 37.
- 8 Place where the martyrdom of Imam Husayn is mourned; theatre of Shi'i passion plays.
- 9 Educated girls belonged to this category, with their teacher being usually either their father, brother, uncle, husband or a private tutor. See Turabi Farsani, *Asnadi*, x.
- 10 Also called *akbund* or *mulla* (clerical teacher) or *mu'allim* (teacher).
- 11 Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 46–7; Arasteh, *Education*, 6; Jalil Dustkhvah and Eqbal Yaghma'i, 'Education. III. The Traditional Elementary School (Maktab)', *EI* 8 (1998): 180–1;

- Edward Yakub Polak, *Iran va Iraniyan*, trans. Kaykavus Jahandari (Tehran: Kharazmi, s. 1361/1982), 186–7; ‘Abdullah Mustaufi, *Sbarb-i Zindigani-yi Man ya Tarikh-i Ijtima’i va Idari-yi Daurih-yi Qajariyyih*, 2nd edn (3 vols., Tehran: Zavvar, s. 1321/1942), 1: 220–1; Yahya Daulatabadi, *Tarikh-i Mu’asir ya Hayat-i Yabya* (4 vols., Tehran: Ibn Sina, s. 1346/1967), 1: 188.
- 12 Although several madrasas were established before the time of Abu ‘Ali al-Hasan al-Tusi Nizam al-Mulk (1018–1092), it was this celebrated Iranian scholar and *vazir* of the Seljuq Empire who established them under a soundly organized administration; see Mehdi Jalali-Shirazi, ‘Education in Iran and Some Suggestions for Its Betterment’ (PhD dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936), 48.
- 13 Christopher Melchert, ‘Education. IV. The Medieval *Madrasa*’, *EIr* 8 (1998): 182.
- 14 ‘Abbas Zaryab, ‘Education. V. The *Madrasa* in Shi’ite Persia’, *EIr* 8 (1998): 184–7.
- 15 Nakosteen, *History of Islamic*, 52; Arasteh, *Education*, 17–19.
- 16 Polak, *Iran va Iranian*, 187.
- 17 Arasteh, *Education*, 6–17.
- 18 Nakosteen, *History of Islamic*, 53.
- 19 Safavi-Hemami, ‘Historical Perspective’, 17.
- 20 For a detailed account of educational developments in Iran down to the Qajar period, see Husayn Sultanzadih, *Tarikh-i Madaris-i Iran: Az ‘Abd-i Bastan ta Ta’asis-i Dar al-Funun* (Tehran: Agah, s. 1364/1985); and *Muqaddamih*, 150–67.
- 21 C. J. Wills, *In the Land of the Lion and Sun, or, Modern Persia, Being Experiences of Life in Persia from 1866 to 1881* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2004; 1st edn, 1893), 337–9.
- 22 Jalali-Shirazi, ‘Education’, 62. Until the end of the nineteenth century, about 95 per cent of the Iranian population remained illiterate.
- 23 See ‘Ali-Muhammad Almasi, *Tarikh-i Mukhtasar-i Tabavvul-i Ta’lim va Tarbiyat dar Islam va Iran*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Intisharat-i Rushd, s. 1382/2003–4) for a short history of major developments in education in Iran from earliest to modern times.
- 24 See C. B. Fisher, ‘Mission Schools in Persia’, *Muslim World* (1930): 251–6, for a brief account of the Christian missions in Iran.
- 25 Arasteh, *Education*, 157.
- 26 George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (2 vols., London: Frank Cass, 1966; 1st edn, 1892), 1: 506; Eugène Boré, *Correspondance et mémoires d’un voyageur en Orient* (2 vols., Paris: Olivier-Fulgenie, 1840), 2: 347–8.
- 27 John Joseph, *The Nestorians and Their Muslim Neighbours: A Study of Western Influence on Their Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), 44. According to Zirinsky, American missionary activity had already begun in 1829, when Eli Smith and Timothy Dwight explored Iranian Azerbaijan for the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). On Smith and Dwight’s recommendation, ABCFM appointed Justin Perkins to establish a mission station at Urmia in order to work with the Assyrian Christians of the region. See Michael Zirinsky, ‘Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries and the Ambiguous Origins of American Relations with Iran’, paper read at a conference on ‘Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East’, in Bellagio, Italy, by the Middle East Institute, in August 2000. (<http://www.ciaonet.org/conf/mei01/zim01.html>, accessed on 20 September 2006).
- 28 Justin Perkins, *Historical Sketch of the Mission to the Nestorians* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1866), 26.
- 29 Natiq, *Karnamih*, 180–1.
- 30 Perkins, *Historical Sketch*, 10–11.
- 31 Thomas Laurie, *Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2005; 1st edn 1853), 64, 75.

- 32 Perkins, *Historical Sketch*, 12–13. A monthly periodical entitled *Rays of Light* was also published on the mission's printing press. Apart from articles on religion and education, it also contained articles on science, juvenile matters, poetry and miscellany.
- 33 Ringer, *Education*, 112.
- 34 Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, *A Century of Mission Work in Iran, 1834–1934* (Beirut: The American Press, 1936), 76–7, qtd. in Ringer, *Education*, 112.
- 35 Perkins, *Historical Sketch*, 10–11.
- 36 Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of the Mubammamedans* (New York: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, Andover, 1843), qtd. in John Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East: Encounters with Western Christian Missions, Archaeologists, and Colonial Powers* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 89.
- 37 Djavad Hadidi, 'France. XV. French Schools in Persia', *EI* 10 (2001): 178.
- 38 Boré, *Correspondence*, 2: 362; Florence Hellot-Bellier, 'France. III. Relations with Persia, 1789–1918', *EI* 10 (2001): 132. According to one account, opening the Boré School might not have been Boré's idea but that of Malik Qasim Mirza, the 70th child of Fath-'Ali Shah and governor of Urmia. Particularly fond of the French, he encouraged Boré to open a French school in Tabriz. See Muhammad Muhit Tabataba'i, 'Tarikhchih-yi I'zam-i Muhassil bih Urupa', *Shafaq-i Surkh*, 31 Tir 1312/22 July 1933, no. 2405. On the other hand, Malik Qasim's actions vis-à-vis Boré could have been in line with Muhammad Shah's active support of the missionary schools. See Ringer, *Education*, 118. This support was partly due to the advantages of modern education, but partly also out of foreign policy considerations. After his failure in the First Herat Crisis, especially because of British opposition and threats as well as the Russian failure to give military support to the Iranian army, Muhammad Shah probably decided to engage Iran with distant powers, such as America and France; allowing American and French missions to operate and open schools in Iran could have been one way to get closer to them.
- 39 It could also be that he decided on this strategy based on the advice of Malik Qasim Mirza.
- 40 According to Eugene Flandin, Boré's decision to open a school in Isfahan was strategic: as Isfahan was geographically situated in the centre of Iran, Boré planned to turn it into the centre of French missionary activity in Iran; see Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 241–2.
- 41 Boré, *Correspondence*, 1: 166; 2: 108–9, 121–2, 294, 308, 310–11, 363–4, 369, 434, 439; Baron de Bode, *Travels in Arabistan and Loristan* (2 vols., London: J. Madden & Co., 1845), 1: 45; Hadidi, 'French Schools', 178.
- 42 Boré, *Correspondence*, 2: 362; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1: 452.
- 43 Hellot-Bellier, 'France. III. Relations with Persia', 132–3; Natiq, *Karnamih*, 182–3, 188.
- 44 Perkins, *Historical Sketch*, 23.
- 45 Ibid. It could be that the permission given by Muhammad Shah to the American and French missionaries to operate in the late 1830s was aimed at containing both British and Russian influence in Iran through engagement with other powers, and that allowing American and French missions to operate in Iran might have been one way to do it.
- 46 Atai, 'The Sending', 226–9, tables 1–2.
- 47 While certain scholars believe that training a new generation of military officers in modern European tactics was the main reason behind Amir Kabir's foundation of the Dar al-Funun, others believe that teaching modern sciences was Amir Kabir's primary goal. See John Lorentz, 'The Impact of Western Education on Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Iran' (unpublished paper), 190, quoted in Atai, 'The Sending', 72, for the former view, and Adamiyyat, *Amir Kabir*, 353–4, for the latter view.
- 48 Adamiyyat, *ibid.*, 211.

- 49 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 255, 258; Adamiyyat, *Amir Kabir*, 191; Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie (de 1855 à 1858)* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1859), 240; Polak, *Iran va Iranianan*, 205–6; Peter Avery, 'Printing, the Press and Literature in Modern Iran', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7: *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, ed. Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 823.
- 50 'Isa Sadiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang-i Iran az Aghaz ta Zaman-i Hazir*, 3rd edn (Tehran: Saziman-i Tarbiyat-i Mu'allim va Tahqiqat-i Tarbiyati, Mihr 1342/September–October 1963), 303; 'Ali Kani, *Saziman-i Farhangi-yi Iran* (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, s. 1333/1954–5), 18.
- 51 John Gurney and Negin Nabavi, 'Dar al-Funun', *Elr* 6 (1993): 663–4, 666–7; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1: 494; Ringer, *Education*, 78.
- 52 Assadullah Bihnam, 'Tarikhchih-yi Ma'arif-i Iran', *Ta'lim va Tarbiyat* 4, 7–8 (s. 1313/1934): 459–60 (360–3, 459–64, 530–7); L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Modern Iran* (London: Routledge, 1941), 67.
- 53 There seems to be some disagreement between sources as to the exact year of the foundation of the school. While Mahbubi-Ardakani claims 1858–9 to be the correct year, Thiqaq al-Islam Tabrizi states 1873, Husayn Omid says 1875, and Sulayman Khan, one of the teachers of the Tabriz Dar al-Funun gives the end of 1876. See, respectively, Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 366; *Ruznamih-yi Anjuman*, no. 6, year 2, 18 Ramazan 1325/25 October 1907; Husayn Omid, *Tarikh-i Farhang-i Azarbaijan* (2 vols., Tabriz: Farhang, s. 1332/1954), 1: 45; and Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 23. It could be that while Mahbubi-Ardakani refers to an earlier period, during which the school was known as 'Madrasih-yi Daulati-yi Tabriz', the other two refer to a later period, during which the school was known as 'Muzaffari'. See Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 14. At any rate, it seems that the majority of the sources point to the mid-1870s as the correct time of the school's foundation. Given the opposition to the Tehran Dar al-Funun and the removal of Amir Kabir, it could be that a second Dar al-Funun (in Tabriz) had a better chance of being established during the office of another reformist prime minister, namely Mirza Husayn Khan Mushir al-Daulih.
- 54 Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 13, 23. Sardarinia states that in 1893–4 the school closed for a short while and then reopened. This reopening, which he describes in his book as 'the second opening', seems to be the period after which the school became known as 'Madrasih-yi Mubarakih-yi Muzaffariyyih'. This is supported by a number of contemporary sources. See Sardarinia, 63–6.
- 55 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 366; Omid, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 1: 31–4.
- 56 Referring to the mid-1870s version of the school being established.
- 57 Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 15.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 15, 32.
- 59 *Akhtar*, 12 Jumada II 1298/12 May 1881; Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 17–18.
- 60 *Akhtar*, 28 Ramazan 1298/24 August 1881; *Varaqih* (organ of the Tabriz Dar al-Funun), 1st issue, 15 Rabi' II 1311/24 October 1893, qtd. in Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 19–20.
- 61 Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 85.
- 62 Atai, 'The Sending', 230–3, table 3; Sadiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 356; Mirza Mahmud Khan Ihtisham al-Saltanib, *Khatirat-i Ihtisham al-Saltanib*, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Mihdi Musavi, 2nd edn (Tehran: Zavvar, s. 1367/1988–9), 315. Atai ('The Sending', 190–208) provides a comparative study with Ottoman and Egyptian students sent to Europe over a similar period.
- 63 For a detailed account of I'tizad al-Saltanib's educational reforms, see Ringer, *Education*, 84–7.
- 64 Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 384.
- 65 On the Faramush-khanib, see Algar, 'An Introduction', 276–96; Atai, 'The Sending', 219–25.

- 66 For a detailed account of the opposition to the Dar al-Funun and Nasir al-Din Shah's suspicions, see Ringer, *Education*, 94–9.
- 67 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 255, 259.
- 68 'Amuzish va Parvarish-i Mudirn dar Iran: Guftugu ba 'Ali-Muhammad Kardan', in Ramin Jahanbayglu, *Iran va Mudirnitib: Goftuguba-yi Ramin Jahanbayglu* (Tehran: Guftar, s. 1380/2001–2), 58.
- 69 The exception was the sending of five students to London for naval studies (1861) and a few employees of the telegraph bureau to Tiflis to be trained in that field (1867); see Atai, 'The Sending', 136–7. Despite the royal order, individual families continued to send their children abroad; *ibid.*, 138.
- 70 Atai, *ibid.*, 74.
- 71 *Ruznamih-yi Vaaqayi'-i Ittifaqiyyih*, no. 458, Thursday, 11 Jumada II 1276/5 January 1860.
- 72 On Mushir al-Daulih's reforms, see Karny, 'Mirza Hosein Khan'; and Nashat, *The Origins*.
- 73 Ihtisham al-Saltanih, *Khatirat*, 25–30; Natiq, *Karnamih*, 49–51.
- 74 Omid, *Tarikh-i Farbang*, 1: 34, 44.
- 75 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 366–7.
- 76 On those two schools, see Natiq, *Karnamih*, 51–2; Almasi, *Tarikh-i Mukhtasar*, 164.
- 77 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 366–7. It is not clear whether this is the same school established in 1875 by Mushir al-Daulih, or a different one. If they are the same, then either Ardakani or Natiq is mistaken; if they are different schools, then it would be unlikely that two schools in the same city would bear the same name. A way out of this could be that there was only one school, which opened in 1875, closed later, and reopened in 1884–5.
- 78 Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih, *Khatirat-i Siyasi-yi Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Daulih*, ed. Hafez Farman Farmaian (Tehran: Kitabha-yi Iran, s. 1341/1962), 131, 268; Ihtisham al-Saltanih, *Khatirat*, 315–16; 'Abdullah Mustaufi, qtd. in M. A. Sepanlu's introduction to Maraghih'i, *Siyabatnamih*, iii.
- 79 On that institution and its schools, see below in this chapter.
- 80 Natiq, *Karnamih*, 97.
- 81 Kennedy to Lord Salisbury, Tehran, 12 February 1891, qtd. in Natiq, *Karnamih*, 97.
- 82 This observation excludes the Babis, who, in spite of never being recognized by the state as a religious minority, had been severely persecuted, especially in the late 1840s and early 1850s, because in the eyes of the state they posed a political as well as a religious threat.
- 83 E. G. Browne dates the tidal wave of missionary activity in the Nestorian area round Urmia to about 1856; see *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia (Partly based on the manuscript work of Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Khan 'Tarbiyat' of Tabriz)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 8 note 2.
- 84 The school was set up in the Armenian quarter, and by 1891 over half of its 135 students were Muslims; see Yahya Armajani, 'Alborz College', *Elr* 1 (1985): 822; and Musavi-Maku'i, *Dabiristan-i Alburz*, for a detailed history of the college.
- 85 Ringer, *Education*, 122–4.
- 86 *Majallih-yi Yadigar*, 3 (6): 68, and Rubab Hussaybi, 'Madaris-i Nisvan az Aghaz ta Sal-i 1314', *Ganjnib-yi Asnad* 1, 1 (s. 1370/1991–2): 82, both quoted in Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, xi.
- 87 Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, xii.
- 88 Badr al-Muluk Bamdad, *Zan-i Irani az Inqilab-i Masbrutiyyat ta Inqilab-i Sifid* (Tehran: Ibn Sina, s. 1347/1968), 45. The first classes of the Dar al-Mu'allimat (Teachers' Seminary) took place in that school.
- 89 Their girls' schools were usually established by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de

- Paul; see Robin E. Waterfield, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973), 80–2.
- 90 Natiq, *Karnamib*, 207–8, 217; Hadidi, 'French Schools', 178–9; Saddiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 356.
- 91 Natiq, *Karnamib*, 198–9, 208–9, 233–9; Ringer, *Education*, 125. The stipend of 150 *tumans* was given only to the boys' schools.
- 92 Saddiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 356; Natiq, *Karnamib*, 197; Hadidi, 'French Schools', 179–80. Arthur de Gobineau, the French minister to Tehran, encouraged the Lazarists to open that school.
- 93 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 367; Ringer, *Education*, 125–6.
- 94 Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, xi. It seems that the origins of the Jean d'Arc School can be traced to two Lazarist schools, one founded in 1865 and the other in 1880. See Hadidi, 'French Schools', 180.
- 95 Natiq, *Karnamib*, 211–12, 217, 220, 222–3, 224; Ringer, *Education*, 126.
- 96 Avery, 'Printing', 824. According to Denis Wright, British missionary activity in Iran had already started much earlier, in 1820, but it was undertaken by individual missionaries, on relatively short visits, either freelancing or as representatives of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; see Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians: Imperial Lives in Nineteenth-Century Iran*, 2nd edn (London: I.B.Tauris, 2001), 114.
- 97 Gulnar E. Francis-Dehqani, 'Great Britain. XV. British Schools in Persia', *Elr* 11 (2003): 290. In 1895 the school became a Christian boys' boarding school before closing completely in 1897. Although it is not specified in her encyclopaedic entry, one could gather that the vocational school, at least up to 1895, had classes for both boys and girls.
- 98 Wills, *In the Land*, 163.
- 99 See the number of references from Heidi Walcher, 'In the Shadow of the King: Politics and Society in Qajar Iran, 1874–1907' (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2000), qtd. in Ringer, *Education*, 126–7.
- 100 Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 290. In 1884 Emily Bruce was joined by Miss Isabella Read of the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East.
- 101 In 1904 the school was transferred to Isfahan, and in 1915 moved to new quarters, where it was renamed the Stuart Memorial College after Bishop Stuart, the first missionary bishop in Iran. It soon closed again after being ransacked in the heated anti-British atmosphere during the First World War, but reopened in 1921 before being taken over by the state in 1939 and re-named Adab High School (*Dabiristan-i Adab*); Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 290–1.
- 102 Wills, *In the Land*, 144, 163.
- 103 *Ibid.*, 163–4.
- 104 Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 290.
- 105 Wright, *The English*, 118–19; Arasteh, *Education*, 157.
- 106 This boys' school closed in 1876 by order of the prince-governor of Isfahan, after the local mullas had denounced it as a British engine for the destruction of Islam; but it was reopened after the intervention of the British minister in Tehran and on condition that no Muslim child was to be admitted and no religious instruction given to Armenian children under the age of 21. See Wright, *The English*, 119–20.
- 107 Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 291; Wright, *The English*, 118–19; Kumisiyun-i Milli-yi Yunisku – Iran, *Iranshabr* (2 vols., Tehran: Kumisiyun-i Milli-yi Yunisku – Iran, s. 1342–3/1963–4), 2: 1210; Waterfield, *Christians in Persia*, 149–50.
- 108 Wright, *The English*, 121.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 122; Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 292.
- 110 This was on his way to Bukhara, in an attempt to discover the fate of Col. Charles Stoddart and Capt. Arthur Conolly, two British officers who had been taken prisoner by the Emir of Bukhara.

- 111 Wright, *The English*, 117.
- 112 Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 292.
- 113 Joseph Knanishu, *About Persia and Its People* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2001; 1st edn, Rock Island, IL: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern Printers, 1899), 205.
- 114 AIU, 'The History of the Alliance', in http://www.alliancefr.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=221, accessed on 4 October 2006.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Two major reasons could explain this profound French cultural influence in Iran: the ideas of the French Revolution and French intellectuals (such as Montesquieu), which greatly influenced Iranian intellectuals; and the non-interference of the French in the political and economic affairs of Iran, in sharp contrast to the growing intervention of the British and the Russians. See Massoud Farnoud, 'France. V. Administrative and Military Contacts with Persia', *EIr* 10 (2001): 143.
- 117 Hadidi, 'French Schools', 181; Joannes Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la cour de Perse* (Paris: F. Juven, 1899), 268–9.
- 118 Huma Natiq, 'Tarikhchih-yi Allians-i Isra'ili dar Iran', in *Yahudiyan-i Irani dar Tarikh-i Mu'asir* (4 vols., Beverly Hills, CA: Markaz-i Tarikh-i Shafahi-yi Yahudiyan-i Irani, 1997), 2: 61 (55–130).
- 119 Hadidi, 'French Schools', 181.
- 120 Maurice Bruézière, *L'Alliance française: Histoire d'une institution* (Paris: Hachette, 1983), 29, qtd. in Ringer, *Education*, 132; Natiq, *Karnamib*, 114–15.
- 121 Natiq, *ibid.*, 91–2, 94, 96, 97; Bruézière, *L'Alliance française*, 29, qtd. in Ringer, *Education*, 129. This was not particular to France, and other European and Western countries made similar use of the missionary, Masonic and cultural activity of organizations, associations, companies, etc., that were based in their country.
- 122 'Appel à tous les Israélites', in AIU, *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (Paris: A. Wittersheim, 1860), 10–11, 22, 39. See André Chouraqui, *Cent ans d'histoire: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et la renaissance juive contemporaine (1860–1960)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), for a more detailed study on the AIU.
- 123 Aron Rodrigue, *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition: The Teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860–1939* (London: University of Washington Press, 1993), 8.
- 124 Ibid., 12.
- 125 Ibid.
- 126 Amnon Netzer, 'Alliance Israélite Universelle', *EIr* 1 (1985): 893. See Avraham Cohen, 'Iranian Jewry and the Educational Endeavors of the Alliance Israélite Universelle', *Jewish Social Studies*, 48 (1986): 15–44 for a more detail study of the educational activities of the AIU in Iran.
- 127 Hadidi, 'French Schools', 180. See Netzer for the main points of the agreement.
- 128 Netzer, 'Alliance Israélite Universelle', 893.
- 129 Ibid.; Hadidi, 'French Schools', 180; Saddiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 356.
- 130 Netzer, 'Alliance Israélite Universelle', 893–4; Hadidi, 'French Schools', 180.
- 131 Netzer, 'Alliance Israélite Universelle', 894; Hadidi, 'French Schools', 180.
- 132 The criticism came mainly from the more conservative elements, who claimed that the AIU gave much higher priority to secular over religious education, did not stress Jewish values enough, and foresaw the teaching of Hebrew. See Reuven Kashani, *Kehilot ha-Yehudim be-Paras-Iran* (Jerusalem: The Sepharadi Community of Jerusalem, the Israeli Ministry of Education, the Jewish Agency, and the Federation of Sepharadi Communities in Israel, 1980), 74.
- 133 Ibid., 74–5.
- 134 Natiq, *Karnamib*, 218.
- 135 Ibid.

- 136 Christl Catanzaro, 'Germany. VIII. German Cultural Influence in Persia', *Elr* 10 (2001): 564; Oliver Bast, 'Germany. IX. Germans in Persia', *Elr* 10 (2001): 570.
- 137 Yunisku, *Iransbahr*, 2: 1211; 'Isa Saddiq, *Yadigar-i 'Umr*, 3rd edn (4 vols., Tehran: Shirkat-i Tab'-i Kitab, s. 1352/1973), 4: 154.
- 138 Estimates about the size of the various religious minorities in Iran in the late nineteenth century are very wide-ranging. They put the Baha'is in the first place (with estimates ranging between 100,000 and 1,000,000), Christians (between 200,000 and 300,000, the majority being Armenians), Jews (20,000–50,000), and Zoroastrians (8,000–10,000). The entire population of Iran was estimated at between 8,000,000 and 10,000,000.
- 139 Houri Berberian, *Armenians and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 42–3.
- 140 *Ibid.*
- 141 Yunisku, *Iransbahr*, 2: 1193.
- 142 Houri Berberian, 'Armenian Participation in the Constitutional Revolution' (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1997), 19–22; Ringer, *Education*, 127–8; A. Amurian and M. Kasheff, 'Armenians of Modern Iran', *Elr* 2 (1987): 478–9.
- 143 Amurian and Kasheff, 'Armenians', 479.
- 144 *Ibid.*, 481. According to Berberian, the modern Armenian school in New Julfa was established in 1833, and therefore it was the first modern Armenian school in Iran; see Berberian, *Armenians*, 43.
- 145 Amurian and Kasheff, 'Armenians', 481.
- 146 *Ibid.* In 1923 another elementary school, Dabistan-i 'Asr-i Pahlavi, was established. It had a mixture of Armenian and Muslim boys.
- 147 *Ibid.*; Yunisku, *Iransbahr*, 2: 1193.
- 148 Amurian and Kasheff, 'Armenians', 481.
- 149 Ringer, *Education*, 128.
- 150 According to Berberian, the first modern Armenian girls' school was established already in 1858 in New Julfa, not Tabriz; see Berberian, *Armenians*, 44.
- 151 Ringer, *Education*, 128; Amurian and Kasheff, 'Armenians', 479.
- 152 R. Macuch, 'Assyrians in Iran. I. The Assyrian Community', *Elr* 2 (1987): 818–19.
- 153 *Ibid.*, 818; Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians*, 89–94.
- 154 Knanishu, *About Persia*, 203–4.
- 155 Turaj Amini (ed.), *Asnadi az Zartushtiyān-i Mu'asir-i Iran (1258–1338 {1879–1959})* (Tehran: Saziman-i Asnad-i Milli-yi Iran, s. 1380/2001), 3.
- 156 According to Ruhullah Mehrabkhani, the biographer of a leading Baha'i of the time, Maneckji's first visit and mission to Iran to help his brethren was in 1848, but when he arrived at Bushihr he found out about Muhammad Shah's death, and preferred to return to India, probably due to the tense political situation and the rivalry over the throne, mainly between Muhammad Mirza and his uncle, the *Farmanfarma*, the governor of Fars. See Ruhullah Mehrabkhani, *Zindigani-yi Mirza Abu al-Fazl Gulpaygani*, 2nd edn (Hofheim-Langenhain: Baha'i-Verlag, 145 BE/1988, 59.
- 157 *Ibid.*, 3–4.
- 158 According to Mehrabkhani, Maneckji was able, through his generosity and intelligence, to befriend Nasir al-Din Shah, his ministers and courtiers, and to win their hearts through presents. It is said that when Zill al-Sultan managed to enrage the shah, it was Maneckji who intervened, and it was through his paying a sum of 10,000–12,000 *tumans* to the shah that the latter agreed to forgive Zill al-Sultan. This generosity made a great impression on the Qajar prince, and later, when he became governor of Yazd and Isfahan, he helped Maneckji and the Zoroastrian community greatly. See Mehrabkhani, *Zindigani*, 60.

- 159 Ibid., 5–6.
- 160 Ibid., 209.
- 161 According to Mehrabkhani, this was the greatest service rendered by Maneckji to his brethren in Iran; see *Zindigani*, 60.
- 162 Ibid., 61. Gulpaygani was a leading Baha'i promoter not only in Iran, but also throughout Transcaspia, after the completion of Czarist Russia in the early 1880s.
- 163 Ibid., 8, 210; Malcolm Minoo Dedboo, 'The Struggle for Zoroastrian Civil Rights in Iran: The Martin Luther King of Zoroastrianism, Seth Maneckji Limji Hataria', <http://www.fraavabr.org/spip.php?article180>, 16, accessed on 19 October 2006. See also Mary Boyce, 'Maneckji Limji Hataria in Iran', in K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume, ed. N. D. Manochehr-Homji and M. F. Kanga (Bombay: K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1969), 19–30.
- 164 Turaj Amini, *Asnadi az Zartushtiyan*, 210–11.
- 165 The Jewish community of Mashhad was a particular case. After the 1839 pogrom, they were forced to convert to Islam, and therefore had to attend the Muslim *maktab-khanibs*, although from 1860 they concurrently studied also at the *zir-zamini* – the underground Jewish *maktab-khanibs*; see Yehoshua Ben-Tsion, *Diokanab shel Kabilat ha-Anusim be-Mashhad she-be-Iran* (Jerusalem: Rimon, Tasha'm/1980), 34.
- 166 The mulla's house was generally in the basement of the synagogue; see Hanina Mizrachi, *Yehudei Paras* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1959), 77.
- 167 Netzer, 'Alliance', 894, and 'Kavim ve-Magamut bih-Ma'rekhet ha-Khinukh ve-ha-Hora'ah ba-Kehilah ha-Yehudit be-Iran 'al Reqa' Pe'ulot Kiya'ch ba-Shanim 1865–1911', in *Hagut Ivrit be-Artsot ha-Islam*, ed. Menachem Zahari et al. (Jerusalem: Brit Ivrit 'Olamit, Tashmab/1981), 454. For a general account of Jewish education in Iran, see Amnon Netzer, 'Jewish Education in Iran', in *Jewish Education Worldwide: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Harold S. Himmelfarb and Sergio Della Pergola (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990): 447–61; Cohen, 'Iranian Jewry', 15–44.
- 168 Netzer, 'Alliance', 894; Avraham Cohen, 'Tmurot Mahutiyot be-Khinukh ha-Yehudi be-Paras', in *Yehudei Iran: 'Avaram, Morashtam ve-Zikatam le-Eretz Israel*, ed. Amnon Netzer (Holon: Beit Koresh, ha-Merkaz ha-'Olamit shel Yehudei Iran be-Israel ve ha-Merkaz le-Tarbut ve-la-Khinukh shel ha-Histadrut, ha-Yekhidah le-Tarbut Shivtei Israel, Tashmakh/1988–9), 69–70.
- 169 Netzer, 'Alliance', 894; Cohen, 'Tmurot', 69–70.
- 170 Netzer, 'Kavim', 449, 450, 459; Cohen, 'Tmurot', 69.
- 171 Cohen, *ibid.*
- 172 Ibid., 70–1. According to Neumark, attending missionary schools did not cause Jews to convert to Christianity; see Ephrayim Neumark, *Massa' be-Eretz ha-Kedem: Suriya, Kurdistan, Aram Nabarayim, Paras ve-Asiya ha-Merkazit* (Jerusalem: Levin-Epstein Bros., Tasha'z/1947), 80. According to Kashani, the few Jews who did convert to Christianity due to missionary activity, did so either for economic reasons or because they sought the patronage of foreign Christian states with diplomatic representatives in Iran; see Kashani, *Kebilot*, 66.
- 173 Cohen, 'Tmurot', 71–3; Netzer, 'Alliance', 894.
- 174 This was mainly the result of the Babi-State clashes, and especially the failed attempt by a Babi to assassinate him during the early years of his reign.
- 175 'Azizullah Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat* (8 vols., Tehran: MMMA, 1965), 6: 39.
- 176 Moayyad, 'Scholarly Dilettantism', 329.
- 177 'Abdu'l-Baha led the Baha'i community from 1892 to 1921, a period which in Baha'i history is known as the 'Period of the Covenant' ('*Abd-i Mithaq*).
- 178 Siyavash Rastani, *Sayyid Hasan Mu'allim va Tarikhchib-yi Dars-i Akhlaq* (Hofheim: Baha'i-Verlag 2000), 3–4.

- 179 Moayyad, 'Scholarly Dilettantism', 329–30.
- 180 One whose face is directed towards (God's grace).
- 181 Rastani, *Sayyid Hasan Mu'allim*, 3–4.
- 182 Ibid., 5–6.
- 183 Ibid., 6.
- 184 *Mahfil* ('Assembly') was changed later to *Kilas* ('Class').
- 185 Rastani, *Sayyid Hasan Mu'allim*, 7–16.
- 186 Ibid., 17–20.
- 187 For the contents of the *Kilasba-yi Dars-i Akbalaq*, from the 1st to 12th grades (ages 5–6 to 17–18), see 'Ali-Akbar Furutan, *Usul-i Tadris-i Durus-i Akbalaqiyyib* (Tehran: MMMA, 1960), 45–78.
- 188 Anon., 'Bunyan-i Madrasah-yi Baha'i-yi Qazvin', *Payam-i Baba'i* 173 (April 1994): 29; Fazil Mazandarani, *Tarikh-i Zubur al-Haqq* (8 vols., Tehran: MMMA, 1975), 8, pt. 1: 595; Ghulam-'Ali Dihqan, 'Tarikhchih-yi Abadih va Chigunigi-yi Rusukh-i Amr-i Baha'i dar Abadih', in Aqa Mirza 'Abbas [Abadih'i] (known as Aqa Mirza Qabil), *Vaqayi'-i Amri-i Abadih* (manuscript copy, BWC Library, catalogue no. BP 330.A22 1999A, key no. 51620), 263.
- 189 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 375.
- 190 Fakhr al-Din Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib-yi Pir-i Ma'arif: Rusdiyyih, Bunyanguzar-i Farhang-i Nuvin-i Iran* (Tehran: Hirmand, s. 1370/1991), 20.
- 191 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 375–6.
- 192 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 20. Muhammad-'Ali Husayni gives 1882, not 1884, as the year of the foundation of the school in Yerevan; see Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 108.
- 193 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 20–2.
- 194 Ibid., 28.
- 195 Ibid., 29–30.
- 196 Ibid., 30.
- 197 Sayyid Ahmad Kasravi Tabrizi, *Tarikh-i Masbrutib-yi Iran* (2 vols., Tehran: Amir Kabir, s. 1363/1984), 2: 21.
- 198 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 30–1.
- 199 Ibid., 31–2.
- 200 Sardarinia, *Dar al-Funun-i Tabriz*, 41–3. The *Vatan Dilli* was a textbook for teaching the Azeri alphabet to children under six years old.
- 201 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 31–2.
- 202 Ibid., 32.
- 203 Ibid., 32–3.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Nikki Keddie, 'Iran Under the Later Qajars, 1848–1922', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7: *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, ed. Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 192, 199.
- 2 On Amin al-Daulih's reforms, see Bakhash, 'The Failure of Reform', 14–33.
- 3 See Mirza 'Abd al-Rahim Talibuf Tabrizi, *Safinib-yi Talibi ya Kitab-i Ahmad* (2 vols., Istanbul: np., 1893–4); and Malkum Khan, *Majmu'ib-yi Athar*.
- 4 The one in Tabriz was later called *Madrasah-yi Muzaffari*.
- 5 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 46.
- 6 Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari*, 1: 244–5.
- 7 According to Daulatabadi one of the reasons Amin al-Daulih called Rushdiyyih to Tehran was the former's belief that without his protection Rushdiyyih would not have had a chance in Tabriz; see Daulatabadi, *Hayat-i Yahya*, 1: 80.

- 8 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 33. Talibuf had donated 200 books on physics and 30 rubles to the Rushdiyyih School in Tabriz; see *Ruznamib-i Nasiri*, no. 5, year 1, Du al-Hijja 1311/June 1894; qtd. in Rushdiyyih, 33.
- 9 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 33–4; Kasravi-Tabrizi, *Tarikh-i Masbrutib*, 2: 21.
- 10 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 34; Keddie, 'Iran Under the Later Qajars', 199.
- 11 Omid, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 1: 48. The following were some of those teachers: Aqa Husayn Va'iz, Aqa Sahhafzadib (Parvarish), Haj Mirza Ahmad Mudarris and Mirza Husayn Kamal.
- 12 *Ruznamib-yi Tarbiyat*, 59, 4 Ramazan 1315/27 January 1898.
- 13 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 40, 43.
- 14 Ibid., 43; Huriyyih Sa'idi, 'Muqaddamih'i bar Sir-i Tahavvul-i Tadvin-i Kitabha-yi Tarikh dar Madaris: Az Ta'sis-i Dar al-Funun (1268 HQ) ta Payan-i Daurih-yi Pahlavi-yi Avval (1320 HS)', *Tarikh-i Mu'asir-i Iran* 4, 13–14 (Spring/Summer 2000): 29.
- 15 Sa'id Naficy, 'Guzarishi az Vaz'iyat-i Madaris az Mashrutiyyat ta Pahlavi', Tehran, 24 Khurdad 1313 (14 May 1934), doc. no. 13/1–51001 A, in Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, 3.
- 16 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 43–4; Bihnam, 'Tarikhchih', 459–64.
- 17 One of the most noteworthy donors was Haji Zayn al-'Abidin, who in 1900 donated 4,000 rubles to the Rushdiyyih School, and 500 to the Sadat School. In addition, he gave each of the 21 modern schools established under the auspices of the Anjuman-i Ma'arif a large wall-map, a few books and a package of notebooks; see Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 48–9.
- 18 Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 44; Bihnam, 'Tarikhchih', 459–64.
- 19 'Amuzish va Parvarish-i Mudirn dar Iran: Guftugu ba 'Ali-Muhammad Kardan', in *Iran va Mudirnitib: Guftuguba-yi Ramin Jahanbayglu*, ed. Ramin Jahanbayglu (Tehran: Guftar, s. 1380/2001–2), 58–9.
- 20 Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, 3. In its first year, the Anjuman-i Ma'arif received some 50,000 *tumans* in donations from outside Iran (Egypt, Istanbul, India, the Caucasus and other places). Donations came also from inside sources, with Muzaffar al-Din donating some 6,000 *tumans* (annually) and Amin al-Daulih some 30,000 *tumans* (in total). See Ahmad Majd al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Inhibitat-i Majlis: Fasli az Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Masbrutiyyat-i Iran*, ed. Mahmud Khalilipur (Isfahan: Danishgah-i Isfahan, 1977), 166–7.
- 21 Bihnam, 'Tarikhchih', 459–64. Bihnam's data as for the number of schools opened during the tenure of Amin al-Daulih stands in contrast to Kirmani's data, which claims that some 30 schools were opened during the same period; see Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Inhibitat*, 167. However, the following are some of those schools: Madrasah-yi 'Ilmiyyih, Madrasah-yi Sharaf, Madrasah-yi Rushdiyyih, Madrasah-yi Sadat, Madrasah-yi Iftitahiyih, Madrasah-yi Islam, Madrasah-yi Aqdasiyyih, Madrasah-yi Muzaffari, and Madrasah-yi Danish; see Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, 3; and Sayyed 'Ali Al-e Dawud, 'Education. IX. Primary Schools', *EIr* 8 (1998): 199. A possible explanation for the difference in the number of schools established during that time could be the mixing of elementary with high schools or Muslim-owned with foreign-owned ones. Kasravi's figures are similar to Bihnam's, but they relate to a longer period (896–1900), claiming 17 schools to have opened in Tehran, and one in each of the other four cities of Tabriz, Bushihr, Rasht and Mashhad; see Kasravi-Tabrizi, *Tarikh-i Masbrutib*, 2: 28.
- 22 Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari*, 1: 413–15.
- 23 Arasteh, *Education*, 69–70. For the list of those schools, the year of their foundation and the name of their founder, see Rushdiyyih, *Zindiginamib*, 49–50.
- 24 'Abd al-Husayn Ayyati (Avarihi), *Al-Kawakib al-Durriya fi Ma'athir al-Baba'iya* (2 vols., Cairo: Marba'a al-Sa'ada, 1923), 2: 73.
- 25 On Amin al-Sultan's animosity towards Rushdiyyih and the rivalry between the two, see Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 378–80.

- 26 Rushdiyyih, *Zindigīnamih*, 45–6.
- 27 Atai, 'The Sending', 167.
- 28 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 374–5.
- 29 Ibid., 380.
- 30 *Majallih-yi 'Aalam-i Nisvan*, 6 (s. 1305/1926–7), no. 6, 5. This was the organ of the graduates of the American girls' school in Tehran, which began publication in 1921–2, and was active for 13 years. It belonged to Navvabih Safavi, and its topics concerned women's issues, such as children's education, household, etc., as well as bringing news about the progress of women in the world and their contribution to world affairs.
- 31 Malikzadih, *Tarikh-i Inqilab*, 3: 180.
- 32 Turabi-Farsani, *Asnadi*, iii–iv. The opposition to this school was led by none other than Haj Shaykh Fazllullah Nuri and Sayyid 'Ali Shushtari, two prominent clerics; see Maryam Fathi, *Kanun-i Banuvan: Ba Ruykardi bih Risbiba-yi Tarikhi-yi Harakatba-yi Zanan dar Iran* (Tehran: Mu'assasih-yi Mutali'at-i Tarikh-i Mu'asir-i Iran, s. 1383/2004), 59. Some years later the manager of the school applied to the minister of education for a permit to reopen the school, but consent to the reopening was conditional on removing the word *dusbizib* (maiden) from the name-plaque of the school and limiting education to girls between the ages of 4 and 6; see Bamdad, *Zan-i Irani*, 39–41.
- 33 Pari Shaykh al-Islami, *Zanan-i Ruznamih-nigar va Andishmand-i Iran* (Tehran: Mazgrafik, s. 1351/1972–3), 65.
- 34 *Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Farsi* (Tehran: Shahr, s. 1374/1995), 2: 2716.
- 35 Daulatabadi, *Hayat-i Yahya*, 1:224–5. Daulatabadi himself was one of the champions of the education reform movement.
- 36 Mahbubi-Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Mu'assisat*, 1: 382–3. On the modern schools established during Muzaffar al-Din's rule, see 383–408.
- 37 Sa'idi, 'Muqaddamih'i', 25–6.
- 38 Daulatabadi, *Hayat-i Yahya*, 1: 182–3.
- 39 Atai, 'The Sending', 167.
- 40 *Tarbiyat* means 'education', and before it was adopted as the school's name, it was the name of a famous literary weekly founded in 1896 by Muhammad-Husayn Furughi, Zuka' al-Mulk (1839–1907), and continued until 1907. It was the first non-governmental newspaper to be published in Iran, and its purpose was 'to gradually awaken the Iranian people to look after their own affairs.' See Ahmad Varedi, 'Muhammad 'Ali Furughi, Zuka al-Mulk (1877–1942): A Study in the Role of Intellectuals in Modern Iranian Politics' (PhD dissertation, University of Utah, 1992), 51–2.
- 41 See Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haq*, 8, pt. 1: 319; 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari, *Taqvim-i Tarikh-i Amr* (Tehran: MMMA, 1970), 125; 'Ali-Akbar Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil* (Tehran: MMMA, s. 1356/1977), 103; Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 30; Farajullah Bakhshayish, qtd. in Thabit, 53; Fayzi, *Hayat*, 317; 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat, *Si Khatirib az 'Asr-i Farkbundib-yi Pablavi* (Tehran: Pars, s. 1355/1976), 241–2; Rafati, 'Baha'i Schools', 468; Avarih, *Al-Kawakib*, 2: 73.
- 42 A similar view is held by the Baha'i scholar Moojan Momen; see his 'Baha'i Schools in Iran', 98–9.
- 43 Rafati, 'Bahai Schools', 468; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 309. For the complete list of all Baha'i schools, see Table 1.
- 44 Saddiq, *Tarikh-i Farbang*, 470.
- 45 Avarih, *Al-Kawakib*, 2: 75.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Haj Muhammad-'Ali Sayyah Mahallati was an Iranian intellectual of the Qajar period, who for a period of 18 years visited many European countries and even travelled to the United

- States. After his return to Iran he wrote his memoirs, in which he criticized many aspects of Iranian society.
- 48 See, for example, the case from 1880 of an *Imam Jum'ā* who, not wishing to pay some Babis the large sum of 18,000 *tumans* which he owed them, accused them of being Babis, an act which led to their execution; see Wills, *In the Land*, 153–6.
- 49 Muhammad-'Ali Sayyah, *Khatirat-i Haj Sayyah ya Daurih-yi Khauf va Vahsbat*, ed. Hamid Sayyah, 3rd edn (Tehran: Amir Kabir, s. 1359/1980), 274–6. See Sayyid Javad Tabataba'i, *Maktab-i Tabriz va Mabani-yi Tajaddud-Khabi* (Tehran: Nigah-i Mu'asir, s. 1385/2006), ch. 7, for a detailed analysis of Sayyah's memoirs. It should be noted that for many years during the second half of the nineteenth century and the earlier years of the twentieth, the term 'Babi/s' was widely used also to describe Baha'i/s.
- 50 See, for example, the official documents in Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 164–5, note 43; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 201–11; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 86–100.
- 51 Knanishu, *About Persia*, 208.
- 52 Ignatiev to Rozen, Tehran, 14 May 1883, in Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (Sankt-Petersburgskii Filial), coll. 777 (V. R. Rozen Collection), series 2, file 186, qtd. in Soli Shahvar, Boris Morozov and Gad Gilbar, *The Baha'is of Iran, Transcaспia and the Caucasus* (2 vols., London: I.B.Tauris, forthcoming), vol. 1.
- 53 Hishmat Shahriyari, 'Ta'til-i Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat bih Ravayat-i Jinab-i 'Ali Akbar-i Furutan', *Payam-i Baba'i*, 316 (March 2006): 27.
- 54 Keddie, 'Iran Under the Later Qajars', 199.
- 55 This issue has been repeatedly referred to by many foreign travellers and officials posted in Iran. One of the latter was V. Ignatiev, who was well acquainted with Iran and Iranians. In 1883 he remarked that 'fraud and immorality are flourishing in Persian cities', and that 'for money the majority of Persians would sell everything, even their wives.' See Ignatiev to Rozen, Tehran, 14 May 1883.
- 56 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Secret*, 15–16. 'Abdu'l-Baha connects the need for modern education to the eradication of corruption, including bribery. See also Mina Yazdani, *Awza'-i Ijtima'i-yi Iran dar 'Abd-i Qajar az Khabal-i Athar-i Mubarakih-yi Baba'i* (Hamilton, ON: Association for Baha' Studies in Persian, 2003), 117–18.
- 57 Ignatiev to Rozen, Tehran, 14 May 1883. Although being extorted for ransom was not in the same category as bribing officials for favours, 'Abdu'l-Baha even forbade Western Baha'is to try to win his freedom by paying money to Ottoman officials; see H. M. Balyuzi, *'Abdu'l-Baha: The Centre of the Covenant of Baha'u'llah* (London: George Ronald, 1971), 107.
- 58 Siyavash Sifidvash, *Yar-i Dirin* (Tehran: MMA, 1975), 61. Shoghi Effendi, 'Abdu'l-Baha's successor, saw in Muzaffar al-Din Shah 'a weak and timid creature, extravagant and lavish to his courtiers,' who 'led the country down the broad road to ruin' (*The Promised Day Is Come*, rev edn [Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1980], 68–9). A year before Nasir-al-Din Shah's assassination and the ascendance of Muzaffar al-Din Mirza to the Qajar throne, Sir Mortimer Durand, the British Minister in Iran (May 1894–Oct. 1900), wrote: 'In circles here they say that the old lion of Iran [Nasir al-Din Shah] would leave after him one tiger [Zill al-Sultan], one fox [Kamran Mirza Nayib al-Saltanah] and one donkey [Muzaffar al-Din Shah]' (H. M. Durand to Lord Kimberley [British foreign secretary], Tehran, 13 January 1895, FO 539/69, no. 26 [3]). Another sign of the shah's weakness could be the fact that his reign is considered to be the era of liberation of the press from state control and of 'free newspapers' circulated by private individuals; see Muhammad Sadr-Hashimi, *Tarikh-i Jara'id va Majallat-i Iran* (4 vols., Isfahan: n.p., s. 1327–32/1948–53), 1: 6. This 'freedom' should be seen in the context of the period, and not at all in the context of Western criteria. On Muzaffar al-Din and his weaknesses, see Robert Michael Burrell, 'Aspects of the Reign of

- Muzaffar al-Din Shah of Persia' (PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1979), esp. ch. 2, 23–51.
- 59 For example, in 1903 extensive persecution of the Baha'is took place throughout Iran, especially in Yazd and Isfahan, led mainly by the 'ulama', especially Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Najafi from Isfahan. See Yazdani, *Awza'-i Ijtima'i*, 239–44.
- 60 Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Inhibitat*, 225.
- 61 See, for example, the anti-Babi crusade of Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Najafi, the *mujtabid* of Isfahan, in 1889 and again in 1892, as described in Vanessa Martin, *The Qajar Pact: Bargaining, Protest and the State in Nineteenth-Century Persia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2005), 82.
- 62 Abu al-Hasan Buzurg-Omid, *Az Mast kib bar Mast* (Tehran: Dunya-yi Kitab, s. 1363/1984), 95.
- 63 Burrell, 'Aspects', 38.
- 64 Wills, *In the Land*, 144.
- 65 On the important role played by the converted Baha'i clerics in the propagation of the Baha'i faith in Qajar Iran, see Juan Cole, 'The Evolution of Charismatic Authority in the Baha'i Faith (1863–1921)', in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*, ed. Robert Gleave (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 311–45.
- 66 See Cole, 'Iranian Millenarianism', 1–26, for a discussion of how close were the principles of the Baha'i faith to the reformist thinking and ideas of the pre-Constitutional and Constitutional period in Iran.
- 67 Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, 59; see also 221–5.
- 68 Baha'u'llah had evaluated the number of the Shi'i clerics who had converted to the Babi faith as 400; see Baha'u'llah, *The Kitab-i Iqan: The Book of Certitude*, trans. Shoghi Effendi (Wilmette, IL.: BPT, 1950), 223.
- 69 Volume 8 of the book is actually composed of two parts, each of which is in a separate book, so there are in fact nine books.
- 70 Muhammad-Riza Mu'tamin al-Saltanah was chief treasury official and chief minister in the province of Khurasan for many years. Around 1885 he even emerged as a candidate for the post of prime minister, but his enemies buried his chances after revealing that he and his brother were Baha'is. However, he was reinstated two years later as chief minister of Khurasan. See Bamdad, *Sharb-i Hal*, 3: 405.
- 71 Mirza Ibrahim Khan Tafrihi Ibtihaj al-Mulk was an aide to Fathullah Khan Akbar Sipahdari A'zam Rashti and was the controller of Iran's northern customs, who in the early Constitutional period became MP, then minister and later prime minister of the later Qajar period. Ibtihaj al-Mulk was murdered by the Jangalis because of his close relations with the British and his conversion to the Baha'i faith.
- 72 Mirza Sayyid 'Abdullah Tafrihi Intizam al-Saltanah (d. 1892), appointed chief of police for Tehran in 1891, replacing the Austrian Comte de Montfort, was granted the title *Intizam al-Saltanah*. His father Mirza Musa, and his elder brother Mirza 'Isa both served as *vazir* of Tehran under Nasir al-Din Shah. See Bamdad, *Sharb-i Hal*, 2: 283–4; Brookshaw, 'Instructive Encouragement', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 51, 84 note 13.
- 73 Dust-'Ali Khan Mu'ayyir al-Mamalik was one of Nasir al-Din Shah's sons-in-law. 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari, *Nurin-i Nayyarin* (Tehran: MMMA, 1967), 63.
- 74 Sulaimani, in *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 2: 266, identifies him as 'Prince Mu'ayyid al-Saltanah and his son Mu'ayyid al-Daulih.' Mu'ayyid al-Saltanah held various positions in public service, including governor of Isfahan, Qum and elsewhere, head of the telegraph in Tehran and Isfahan, head of the Imperial Council (Shura-yi Saltanat) during Muhammad-'Ali Shah's reign, and governor of Khuzistan, his last post. He died in 1910–11 in Nasiriyyih (now Khurramshahr). Apparently, in travels through Iraq and Syria he met with 'Abdu'l-Baha in

- Palestine and wrote a book on the Baha'i religion after his return to Iran. See Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 403–4.
- 75 Mirza 'Ali-Akbar Khan Rauhani Milani Muhibb al-Sultan was the manager and proofreader of Matba'ih-yi Shahi (the Royal Printing House), founded by Muzaffar al-Din Shah, and later headed the Mahkamih-yi Idari (Administrative Court) before being discharged in 1912 due to pressure by 'ulama' and rivals. His main position out of state service was as secretary of Tehran's Spiritual Assembly. During the early years of Riza Shah's reign he founded a modern printing house for the publication and distribution of Baha'i holy texts. See Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 482–3.
- 76 Abu al-Hasan Mirza Qajar Shaykh al-Ra'is (c. 1848–1920), grandson of Fath-'Ali Shah, son of Muhammad-Taqi Mirza (Hissam al-Saltanih) and uncle of Muhammad Shah Qajar, was born in Tabriz. Exposed to Babism by his mother, who was a Babi convert, he later became a Baha'i. He studied in seminaries at Mashhad and Samarra in the early 1880s, receiving the rank of *mujtabid* from the supreme *mujtabid* of the era, Haji Mirza Muhammad-Hasan Shirazi. He came into conflict with the provincial government of Khurasan as a result of his pro-constitutionalist ideas and probably also his Baha'i identity, and had to flee, first to Quchan, then to Central Asia and Istanbul. Returning to Khurasan in 1888, he again came into conflict with the local power elite and was imprisoned in 1892. Released, he returned to Istanbul, where in 1892 he joined the pan-Islamist circle led by Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and wrote *Ittibad al-Islami*, one of his most famous works, to promote Afghani's ideas of pan-Islamic unity. Shaykh al-Ra'is then left Istanbul, visited 'Abdu'l-Baha in Acre, and went to India, returning later to Iran where he played a prominent role in the Constitutional Revolution (1905–8), serving in the *majlis* (parliament). He was imprisoned by Muhammad-'Ali Shah (r. 1906–9) but was later released and served in the *majlis* once again after that shah was toppled. He is buried at Shah 'Abd al-'Azim near the grave of Nasir al-Din Shah. Shaykh al-Ra'is was also an accomplished poet, using the pen-name 'Hayrat'. See Cole, *Modernity*, 102–3, and 'The Provincial Politics of Heresy and Reform in Qajar Iran: Shaykh al-Rais in Shiraz, 1895–1902,' *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 22, 1 (2002): 119–26.
- 77 Haji Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Mirza Shirazi (Afnan), son of Sayyid Muhammad, a maternal cousin of the Bab, was a prominent merchant in Yazd. Appointed consular agent for Russia, he was subsequently granted the title *Vakil al-Daulih-yi Rus*. He and his family became one of the most influential merchant families in Iran. See Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi, *Kitab-i Kbandan-i Afnan Sadrih-yi Rahman* (Tehran: Mu'assasah-yi Matbu'at-i Amri, 127 BE/1971); and 'Haji Mirza Muhammad-Taqi', item 13 in Ahang Rabbani, *The Afnan Family: Some Biographical Notes*, <http://ahang.rabbani.googlepages.com/afnan>, accessed 2 April 2007.
- 78 Mirza 'Ali-Quli Khan (1879–1966) was the son of Mirza 'Abd al-Rahim Khan Zarrabi, *kalantar* (mayor) of Tehran. At age 17 'Ali-Quli Khan was a translator of foreign publications in the prime minister's secretariat. In the late 1890s he became a Baha'i. He was appointed Persian minister in Washington, DC (1902), later consul, and chief diplomatic representative and chargé d'affaires (1910–11), granted the title *Nabil al-Daulib* (1911) by Ahmad Shah. 'Ali-Quli Khan later headed the Iranian Embassy in Istanbul with the rank of minister plenipotentiary. He then served as chief minister of the Prince Regent's court in Tehran (1921–3), thereafter appointed minister plenipotentiary to the five republics of the Caucasus. See his obituary in *The Baha'i World*, vol. 14 (1963–8), 351–3.
- 79 Sayyid Nasrullah Baqirov (1859–1924) was the youngest of Sayyid Baqir Musavi Tulami's seven sons, who was engaged in farming in the Lahijan region in Gilan. Around 1879 Baqir's five younger sons became Baha'is, with the two elder remaining Shi'i Muslims. Baha'u'llah gave the five brothers the title of 'Sadat-i Khams' (the Five Sayyids). Upon the death of their father (c. 1897) the two elder brothers took possession of their father's inheritance by applying

the Islamic laws of inheritance. Sayyid Nasrullah then moved to Baku and entered the employment of a local businessman who exported oil to Iran. Later, he managed to buy out his employer's business and to make a fortune. In Baku, Sayyid Nasrullah married Sakinih Khanum, a Baha'i and sister of the famous Azeri poet, Mirza 'Abd al-Khaliq Ya'qubzadih. He took Russian citizenship and adopted the surname 'Baqirov' (Son of Baqir). After the Constitutional Revolution Sayyid Nasrullah moved, with his family and wealth, back to Iran. He bought property in Gilan, but it was what he bought in Tehran which made him very famous among the Iranian elite. He built his magnificent house on Amiriyyih Street, just opposite the residence of Kamran Mirza Nayib al-Saltanih, and the Grand Hotel and the Grand Cinema – the first modern European-style hotel and movie theatre in Tehran – on Lalihzar Street. He was also able to receive the concession for the operation of the Tehran-Anzali/Pirbazar road. When Riza Shah Pahlavi ascended the throne (1925), Sayyid Nasrullah gave up his Russian citizenship and took the surname of 'Khamsi'. He was very influential among the Iranian elite and the higher echelons of the Iranian government. See Ruhullah Mehrabkhani, *Kbandan-i Sadat-i Khams* (Darmstadt: 'Asr-i Jadid, 151 BE/s. 1373/1994), 13–15, 52–61; Sayyid Nasrullah Baqirov to 'Abdu'l-Baha, BWCA, AA001/001/05955; Martha L. Root, 'A Pilgrimage Through Persia', pt. 3: Qazvin and Tihran, *Star of the West* 21, 6 (September 1930): 173–8.

- 80 Shapour Rassekh, 'Faza-yi Jami'ih-yi Baha'i dar Qarn-i Nuzdahum-i Miladi', *Khubshiba'i az Kharman-i Adab va Hunar* 13 (2002): 128–9, 133. There are different estimates as to the size of the Baha'i community in Iran. While most point to the figure of 100,000, Curzon believed it to be at least half a million and at most a million, out of the 9–10 million population of Iran; see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1: 499. Edward G. Browne, who visited Iran in 1887–8, spoke of the large size of the Baha'i community and could report, some 20 years later (1903), that the impression among all diplomatic circles in Iran was that the Baha'i faith would soon become the major religion therein; see E. G. Browne, *Materials for the Study of Babi Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918), xvi, and Introduction to Myron Phelps, *The Life and Teaching of Abbas Effendi* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1903), x. In 1892, Ignatiev, who was now a Russian official charged, among other things, with gathering data and information on the Baha'is of Iran and Ashgabat, reported that 'there are certain grounds for estimating that the number of the followers of the Bab [i.e., Baha'is] has reached one million,' adding that 'they are dispersed in all strata of the population, including the highest class'; see Ignatiev to Rozen, Ashgabat, 25 March 1892. On the other hand, some three years later, in 1895, A. Tumanski, another Russian official, who like Ignatiev was also charged with collecting information on the Baha'is, wrote to Baron Rozen that 'in general, the total number of Babis [i.e., Baha'is] cannot be more than 100–150 thousand and the number given by Curzon and quoted by Browne is, in my opinion, exaggerated' (Tumanski to Rozen, Ashgabat, 4 January 1895, coll. 777, series 2, file 460). Tumanski widened the range of his estimate to 'no less than 100,000 and no more than 200,000' in his secret report to General Kuropatkin, which he wrote after the completion of his tour of Iran (from 18 March to 15 November 1894); see 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski, subordinate to the Commander of the troops of the Transcaspian Region regarding his journey to Persia (18 March to 15 November 1894)' (secret), n.p. (probably Ashgabat), n.d. (probably end of November–beginning of December 1894), Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv, Moscow, coll. 1396, series 2, file 1856, qtd. in Shahvar et al., *Baha'is of Iran, Transcaspiia and the Caucasus*, vol. 1. The problem of providing a more exact and realistic figure on the number of Baha'is in Iran was, according to Tumanski, due to the fact that 'the majority of them practise their teaching secretly'; see 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'. For a more detailed discussion of this issue, see Smith, 'A Note on Babi and Baha'i Numbers in Iran', 295–301.

- 81 Ignatiev to Rozen, Tehran, 14 May 1883.
- 82 Ignatiev to Rozen, 25 March 1892.
- 83 Ibid. However, Ignatiev did not agree with his former professor of Arabic, and believed that such a threat could backfire, turning the majority Shi'i population in Iran hostile towards Russia. It should be noted that the migration of a growing number of Baha'is from Iran to Baku, Ashgabat and other localities in Transcaspia (Turkistan from 1892), their open and relatively free conduct, and the liberal and often supporting attitude of the local Russian officials, created some uneasiness and difficulty in Russo-Iranian bilateral relations. See Ignatiev to Rozen, Ashgabat, 23 April 1892, coll. 777, series 2, file 186.
- 84 Tumanski covered more than 3600 versts (1 verst=1.0668 km=0.6628 miles) on horseback in his tour of Iran; see 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 85 Tumanski to Rozen, Ashgabat, 4 January 1895.
- 86 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 87 See note 80, above.
- 88 Tumanski estimated those 'around 3,000–4,000 people'; see 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 89 Ibid.; Tumanski to Rozen, Ashgabat, 4 January 1895.
- 90 Tumanski to Rozen, Ashgabat, 4 January 1895; 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 91 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Butzow to Alexander Alexeyvich, Tehran, March 4 [March 16], 1897, AVPR, coll. 194, series 528a, file 2049, 1848–97, qtd. in Firuz Kazemzadeh, 'Russian Documents about Iranian Baha'is in Ashgabat and Baku, 1897 and 1902', *World Order* 37, 3 (2006): 40.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Ma'idib-yi Asimani*, ed. 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari (9 vols., Tehran: MMA, 1973), 5: 261.
- 96 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Tazkarat al-Wafa' fi Tarjumat Hayat Qudama al-Abiba'*: *Bayanat-i Mubarakib-yi Hazrat-i 'Abdu'l-Baha* (Haifa: Matba'a 'Abbasiya, 1924), 209, 211; published in English as *Memorials of the Faithful*, trans. Marzieh Gail (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1971), 136, 138. Sulaimani, *Masabib-i Hidayat*, 3: 474.
- 97 Tayibih Imani, 'Tarikh-i Amri-yi Rafsanjan az Badu-yi Zuhur ta Sal-i 1362 Hijri-yi Shamsi' (MA thesis, MAMA, 2000), 61–2. Although promising his superior to protect the Baha'is of Rafsanjan, Raf'at al-Saltanib simply took money from the Baha'is for protecting them but did not provide any kind of protection.
- 98 Grandson of one of Muhammad Shah's military commanders; governor of Tunkabun; brigadier-general of the Tunkabun Regiment, c. 1885; given the title of *Nasr al-Saltanib*, c. 1887; governor of Rasht, 1899–1903; one of the leaders of the Constitutional movement; headed the famous march on Tehran, July 1909, thus forcing Muhammad-'Ali Shah's abdication; afterwards, served several times as prime minister; died January 1926.
- 99 Nicolas to French Foreign Ministry, no. 71, Tabriz, 19 September 1912, Série Correspondances Politique, Consulat Tauris [Tabriz], Nouvelle Série, no. 9, 1913, 74, qtd. in *The Babi and Baha'i Religions 1844–1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts*, ed. Moojan Momen (Oxford: George Ronald, 1981), 515.
- 100 Cole, *Modernity*, 81. It is said that Mirza Husayn Khan had upbraided one of Baha'u'llah's Muslim brothers for being embarrassed about the relationship. See Mirza Haydar-'Ali Isfahani, 'Tarjumih-i Ahval-i Mirza Abu'l-Faza'il' (Tehran: Intisharat-i Lajnih-yi Milli-yi Muhafazih-yi Athar va Arshiv-i Amr, 132 BE/1975–6), 143–50; and Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi, *La'li-yi Dirakhsban* (Shiraz: n.p., 1967), 120–1, qtd. in Cole, *Modernity*, 210 note 9.
- 101 Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi, *Khitabat-i Qalam-i A'la dar Sha'n-i Nuzul-i Alvah-i Muluk va Salatin* (n.p., s. 1336/1957), 106, qtd. in Cole, *Modernity*, 210 note 11.

- 102 Shoghi Effendi, *A World Survey: The Baha'i Faith, 1844–1944* (Wilmette, IL: Baha'i Publishing Committee, 1944), 5. According to this survey, during the period of the Bab's ministry (1844–53) only two countries (Iran and Ottoman Iraq) were opened to the Babi-Baha'i faith, adding another 12 during Baha'u'llah's ministry (1853–92), an additional 32 countries (mainly from the Western world) during 'Abdu'l-Baha's ministry (1892–1921), with another 78 countries added between 1921 and 44.
- 103 Some Iranians have even asserted that the creation of the Babi movement and the Baha'i faith was Britain's doing, claiming that finding their colonialist designs in Iran and the region blocked by the 'strong dam' of Islam, British policy-makers adopted a policy of creating fragmentations, especially of a religious kind. They believe that the British contacted Sayyid 'Ali-Muhammad Shirazi (the Bab), and, through the use of Shi'i millenarian beliefs, induced him to declare himself Mahdi, and the precursor of a new prophet (Baha'u'llah) and a new religion (the Baha'i religion). See 'Ali-Riza Amini and Habibullah Abu al-Hasan Shirazi, *Tabavvulat-i Siyasi-Ijtima'i-yi Iran az Qajariyyih ta Riza Shah* (Tehran: Nashr-i Qums, s. 1382/2003–4), 117–18.
- 104 LSA of the Baha'is of Warwick, 'The Baha'i Centenary: 100 Years of the Baha'i Faith in Britain, A Brief History', in http://babai-library.com/file.php5?file=warwick_babai_centenary_britain&language=All, accessed on 7 October 2007.
- 105 See Soli Shahvar, 'The Baha'i Faith and Baha'i Communities in Iran and Transcaspia, 1844–1914', in Shahvar et al., *Baha'is of Iran, Transcaspia and the Caucasus*, vol. 1; and 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski', for a detailed analysis of Russian interests in Baha'i migration to Transcaspia as well as the reasons for their migration to those territories.
- 106 Peter Smith, *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Baha'i Faith* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000), 49.
- 107 Kuropatkin to Butzow, Ashgabat, 30 June [July 12] 1897, AVPR, coll. 194, series 528, file 2049, 1848–97, qtd. in Kazemzadeh, 'Russian Documents', 39.
- 108 Ira Lapidus, the American historian, also holds the view that the Russians supported the Baha'is. Although he does not provide evidence for this view, he claims that Russian support of the Baha'is was one of the reasons for the pre-Constitutional protests in the bazaars; see Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 475.
- 109 Following the failed attempt on the life of Nasir al-Din Shah (1852), Baha'u'llah was arrested. He was later released, mainly through the endeavours of Prince Dimitri Ivanovich Dolgorukov (d. 1867), the Russian minister to Tehran (1845–54). Once the Iranian government had decided to exile Baha'u'llah, it was Dolgorukov who proposed a haven for him in Russia, and when Baha'u'llah declined this in favour of Baghdad, Dolgorukov decided to send an official from the legation to accompany him. BWC, *History of the Baha'i Faith in the Former USSR* (a statement) (Haifa: BWC, 1990), 1; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By* (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1970), 104; V. Rafati, 'Diyarat-i Baha'i dar Rusiyyih', *Pazhubishnamih* 1, 2 (Winter 153 BE/1996): 4.
- 110 See Graham Hassall, 'Notes on the Babi and Baha'i Religions in Russia and Its Territories', *Journal of Baha'i Studies* 5, 3 (1993): 41–86; Nancy Ackerman and Graham Hassall, 'Russia and the Baha'i Faith: A Historic Connection', in *The Baha'i World, 1998–99: An International Record* (Haifa: BWC, 2000), 157–92.
- 111 Such as in an incident from 1903 in Isfahan, where a group of Baha'is took refuge from the mob in the Russian consulate, using the customary right of refuge (*bast*) from danger at a foreign mission's building. M. Baronowsky, the Russian acting consul, petitioned the Iranian authorities on their behalf. See Momen, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 376, 378–85.
- 112 'The report of the Official of the Department of Spiritual Affairs S. Rybakov [counsellor in

- the Ministry of Interior] on the foundation and the spreading of Babism [i.e., Baha'ism]', May 1915, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (St Petersburg), coll. 821 (Dept. of Spiritual Affairs, the Muslim Directorate, the Ministry of Interior), series 150, file 413. qtd. in Shahvar et al., *Baha'is of Iran, Transcaспia and the Caucasus*, vol. 2.
- 113 Senator General-Adjutant Prince Golitsyn (head of the Civil Administration in the Caucasus) to Egermeister D. Sipiagin (minister of interior), 4 August 1901, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv, coll. 821, series 8, file 845 (titled 'The Muslim Sect of 'Babis' [i.e., Baha'is]'), letter 1, qtd. in Shahvar et al., *Baha'is of Iran, Transcaспia and the Caucasus*, vol. 2.
- 114 A report titled 'Babism [i.e., Baha'ism] in Islam' by Protoierei Alexander Iunitskii (a high-ranking cleric in the Russian Orthodox Church) to K. P. Pobedonostsev (Ober-Prokuror of the Sacred Sinod, head of a government body in charge of religious activities), Baku, 24 September 1902, and Iunitskii to Pobedonostsev, 4 October 1902, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv, coll. 797, series 73, file 845, docs. 1, 2, qtd. in Shahvar et al., *Baha'is of Iran, Transcaспia and the Caucasus*, vol. 2.
- 115 Shapour Rassekh, 'Az Risalih-yi Madaniyyih ta Risalih-yi Siyasiyyih', *Safinib-yi 'Irfan*, 6 (2003): 40. 'Abdu'l-Baha wrote *Risalih-yi Siyasiyyih* to Amin al-Sultan.
- 116 See Cole 'Iranian Millenarianism', 1–26; and Alkan, 'Ottoman Reform', 253–74.
- 117 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Makatih*, 1: 139.
- 118 Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt.1: 208.
- 119 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 120 Velda Piff Metalmann, *Lua Getsinger: Herald of the Covenant* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1997), 59, 61; Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 31.
- 121 Metalmann, *Lua Getsinger*, 63–4.
- 122 Ibid., 61–2.
- 123 Ibid., 30; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 319; Ishraq-Khavari, *Taqvim*, 125; Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 103; Avarih, *Al-Kawakib*, 2: 73.
- 124 Metalmann, *Lua Getsinger*, 59–60.
- 125 Ibid., 64.
- 126 Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 70.
- 127 Baha'u'llah, *Majmu'ib-yi Alwab-i Mubarakib* (Cairo: Matba'a al-Sa'ada, 1920), 366.
- 128 Baha'u'llah, *Atbar-i Qalam-i A'la'* (Tehran: MMMA, 1977–8), 198.
- 129 Baha'u'llah, *Ma'idib-yi Asimani*, ed. 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari (Tehran: MMMA, 1973), 4: 133.
- 130 Ibid. It is not clear whom Nasir al-Din Shah was referring to, although it could have been Jamal al-Din al-Afghani.
- 131 Such as the teaching of Arabic, the Qur'an and Islam; taking the examinations of the Ministry of Education; and opening the school to the supervision of this ministry's officials.
- 132 Apart from the attempt on Nasir al-Din Shah's life in 1852, a few sources record another incident, from 3 April 1878, which according to the official Iranian version was another Babi assassination attempt. One day before his departure for his second European visit, the shah went to visit the shrine of Shah 'Abd al-'Azim. On the return to Tehran the royal carriage was approached by 10–12 soldiers, who wanted to submit a petition to the shah. His mounted guard prevented this, and the soldiers threw stones at the royal guard. Since some of those stones hit the royal carriage, the entire incident was turned into a Babi attack on the shah, who did not hesitate to order the execution of all the soldiers. On the 1852 incident, see Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 204–11. On the 1878 incident, see 'Ali-Akbar Vilayati, *Tarikh-i Ravabit-i Khariji-yi Iran: Dauran-i Nasir al-Din Shah va Muzaffar al-Din Shah*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Mu'assasah-yi Chap va Intisharat-i Vizarat-i Umur-i Kharijih, s. 1375/1996),

- 139–40. In contrast to the 1852 incident, there is no account of this later incident in Babi-Baha'i sources, and it is most likely that this was another of the many incidents for which Babis were wrongly accused.
- 133 Denis M. MacEoin, 'Bahai Faith. VII. Bahai Persecutions', *EIr* 3 (1989): 462.
- 134 See, for example, the dispatch from Henry Longworth, British Consul at Trabizond, which illustrates very well that this confusion existed in the minds of many. For Longworth's dispatch, see Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 362–3. See also the report from Rev. Dr Robert Bruce (missionary, the CMS, Isfahan) to the CMS (London), Julfa, Isfahan, 19 November 1874, in Momen, 244, where he states: '... the sect of Baabis which is now increasing in Persia is that called Baha'i – their chief [Baha'u'llah] is now in prison in Acca.' In his secret report on the Baha'is, Alexander Tumanski uses the term 'new Babis' for the followers of Baha'u'llah (Baha'is), but he uses it only once, and continues, throughout the report, to use the term 'Babis' for 'Baha'is'. However, he stresses that these 'new Babis' (i.e., Baha'is) were now the majority of the Babi community: 'after reforming the teachings of [the] Bab[,] Bekha Ullah [Baha'u'llah] became the founder of the sect of [the] New Babis [i.e., Baha'is], to which the major part of the Babis of Persia belong. The smaller part, which remained loyal to the old teaching, has another leader – the brother of [the] above-mentioned Baha'u'llah – Ezel [Mirza Yahya Nuri Azal].' See 'Report of Staff-Captain A. Tumanski'.
- 135 Butzow to Alexander Alexeyvich Tehran, 4 March [16 March], 1897, AVPR, coll. 194, series 528a, file 2049, 1848–1897, qtd. in Kazemzadeh, 'Russian Documents', 40.
- 136 'Malik al-Mutikallimin: Mard-i Sikular-i Mashrutih', *Kayhan*, 29 Azar 1385/20 December 2006, and in <http://rasaneb-kbabari.com/?p=510>, accessed on 10 October 2007.
- 137 Haji Mirza 'Abdullah Khan Nuri Farrashbashi was the father of Mirza 'Ali-Muhammad Varqa' (d. 1896), the prominent Iranian Baha'i, who was renowned as a poet. 'Ali-Muhammad and his young son, Ruhullah, were killed by one of the Qajar courtiers in the aftermath of the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah. Smith, *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Baha'i Faith*, 352. *Farrashbashi* (lit., 'chief spreader of the carpets') was a chief servant, who looked after the beds and the house generally.
- 138 Mirza 'Inayat 'Aliabadi Mazandarani was entrusted with governing and inspection duties in various regions of Azerbaijan. Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 5.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- 140 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 141 Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 70.
- 142 Arbab, *Khanib-yi Muqaddas-i Man*, 42–56.
- 143 Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 311.
- 144 Sifidvash, *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 154.
- 145 Menshadi to unidentified, n.d., Helen S. Goodall Papers, USNBA, qtd. in R. Jackson Armstrong-Ingram, *Music, Devotions, and Masbriqul-Adhkar*, Studies in Babi and Baha'i History, vol. 4 (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1987), 10, 362 note 23. Helen S. Goodall was one of the early American Baha'is. Taqi Menshadi was an Iranian Baha'i promoter from Yazd, who died and was buried in Egypt.
- 146 For example, Tarbiyat's plaque read 'Madrasah-yi Mubarakih-yi Tarbiyat', without the word 'Baha'i'. The same applied to other Baha'i schools, such as Sa'adat, Ta'yid, etc.
- 147 Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 86–7.
- 148 See, for example, the case of Yazd, in Sifidvash, *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 151–2.
- 149 Rafati, 'Bahai Schools', 468.
- 150 'Amuzish va Parvarish-i Mudirn dar Iran', 59.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Baha'u'llah, in *Compilation of Compilations*, 1: 368, no. 770.
- 2 Ibid., 367, no. 767.
- 3 'Abdu'l-Baha in *Compilation of Compilations*, 1: 368, no. 773.
- 4 Ibid., 369, no. 775.
- 5 Ibid., 370, no. 777.
- 6 Saddiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 470.
- 7 Avarih, *Al-Kawakib*, 2: 75.
- 8 Tarazullah Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilahi: Zindiginamib-yi Ayyadi Amrallah Tarazullah Samandari*, ed. Parivash Samandari Khushbin (2 vols., Hamilton, ON: Mu'assasah-yi Ma'arif-i Baha'i, 158 BE/2002), 1: 146 and 2: 153 (photos).
- 9 Consult Table 1, under 'curriculum', for more specific details regarding the curriculum, teaching facilities and other activities of the various Baha'i schools in Iran.
- 10 Hugh C. Adamson and Philip Hainsworth, *Historical Dictionary of the Babai Faith* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 394–5.
- 11 Baqirov to 'Abdu'l-Baha, Tehran, 25 Jumada II 1331/1 June 1913, BWCA, AA 001/001/05960. It is quite likely that the reference is actually to the section of the Hamadan Baha'i community who were formerly Jews, who decided to divert their share of the earnings from those two institutions to the Ta'iyid School after converting to the Baha'i faith.
- 12 See, for example, the following for praise by former Baha'i students at Tarbiyat: Arbab, *Khanib-yi Muqaddas-i Man*, 13–16, 27–9, 32; Thabit, *Sarguzasht*, 7, 17–18.
- 13 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 194, 207. 'Abbas Thabit states that more than 20 letters had been issued from the Ministry of Education and the Office of Ministry Inspectorate (*Idarib-yi Taftish-i Vizarati*) attesting to the excellence of both Tarbiyat schools; see Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 44.
- 14 Translation (from English to Persian) of an article by 'Ali Akbar Furutan, which appeared in *Glory*, no. 2 (May–June 1976), qtd. in Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 143; Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 26.
- 15 Eskandar Sydney Sprague to Mirza Ahmad Sohrab (his friend, who also translated the letter for *Baha'i News*), Tehran, 9 June, 1910, qtd. in *Star of the West*, 1, no. 7, 5.
- 16 Ibid., 6–7.
- 17 Ibid., 7.
- 18 For the list of these teachers, see Thabit, *Tarikhchib*, 58.
- 19 Ibid., 57–8.
- 20 The same American women who were so important to the success of the Tarbiyat Girls' School in Tehran also had great success in promoting hygiene and health awareness among Baha'i women and children in particular. See Seena B. Fazel and Minou Foadi, 'Baha'i Health Initiatives in Iran: A Preliminary Survey', in *The Baha'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 122–40.
- 21 For a detailed account of these American Baha'i female educators, see R. Jackson Armstrong-Ingram, 'American Baha'i Women and the Education of Girls in Tehran, 1909–1934', in *In Iran*, ed. Peter Smith, Studies in Babi and Baha'i History, vol. 3 (Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1986, 181–210).
- 22 It seems that Sarah Clock was referring to Isabel Fraser Chamberlain, a Baha'i teacher and journalist from the USA, who was named 'Thuraya' by 'Abdu'l-Baha. In 1916 Fraser wrote a short book titled *Divine Common Sense: From the World's Greatest Prisoner to His Prison Friends* (Boston: Tudor Press, 1916). Two years later she republished it under a different title: *'Abdu'l-Baha on Divine Philosophy* (Boston: Tudor Press, 1918). It is most likely that Clock was referring to this book. On Fraser, see her obituary in *The Baha'i World*, vol. 8 (1938–40), 664–5.

- 23 Sarah A. Clock to Mrs. Orol Platt, 15 August 1916, The Orol Platt Papers (OPP), USNBA, 4.
- 24 Like *The Christian Herald*, *Literary Digest*, *Review of Reviews* or *The Passe Partout* paper; see Clock to Platt, 20 November 1916, OPP, 5.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., 6–7.
- 27 Ibid., 8.
- 28 Clock to Platt, 15 August 1916, 5.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid., 6.
- 32 Ibid., 6–7.
- 33 Ibid., 7.
- 34 Clock to Platt, 20 November 1916, 4.
- 35 Ibid., 11.
- 36 Ibid., 6. Poems such as ‘Twickenham Ferry’, ‘Sweet and Low’, and ‘Sunrise’ were among the poems taught and sung.
- 37 According to Clock, without knowing about the singing classes of Miss Kappes, ‘Abdu’l-Baha sent the American Baha’i teaching staff at Tarbiyat a tablet telling them to teach the pupils ‘to sing like foreigners’; *ibid.*
- 38 Ibid., 5.
- 39 Ibid., 1. Kappes was a 22-year-old American Baha’i woman who left the USA for Iran in 1911 to open the Tarbiyat-i Banat Baha’i School in Tehran. For nine years she worked hard to develop that school into one of the best girls’ schools in Iran. She died from typhoid in 1920. See Avarih, *Al-Kawakib*, 73–4.
- 40 Clock to Platt, 20 November 1916, 1.
- 41 Ibid., 2. Clock did not identify this person.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., 11–12.
- 44 Ibid., 2–3.
- 45 Ibid., 3.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid., 11.
- 48 Ibid., 3.
- 49 Ibid., 12.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 See, for example, praise for Lillian Kappes and Genevieve Coy, two of the staff of the Tarbiyat Girls’ School, in Marzieh Gail, *Arches of the Years* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1991), 211–12 and 250.
- 54 Thabit, *Sarguzasht*, 18.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 [Name unclear] (Kashan and Natanz branch of the Ministry of Education, Endowments and Fine Arts to Minister of Education, Endowments and Fine Arts), Kashan, 25 May 1921 no. 245, qtd. in Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 87; Bayza’i (a member of the Kashan branch of the Treasury) to Amir A’lam (Minister of Education), Kashan, 12 October 1921, qtd. in Vathiqi, 92–3.
- 57 Bayza’i to Amir A’lam 4 September 1921, qtd. in Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 90. It seems that since his earlier report on the Vahdat-i Bashari School, there had been a cabinet change, during which the name of the ministry was changed to the Ministry of Education, Endowments and Public Benefit (Vizarat-i Ma’arif va Auqaf va Favayid-i ‘Ammih).

- 58 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 341.
- 59 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-i Hamadan*, ed. Vahid Rafati (Hofheim: Baha'i Verlag, 2004), 304.
- 60 Ibid., 310.
- 61 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 363.
- 62 Ibid., 376.
- 63 Anon. [Badi'ullah Agah], 'Madaris-i Baha'i-i Abadih', *Payam-i Baba'i* 166 (September 1993): 32–3.
- 64 Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 9: 417.
- 65 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 102.
- 66 'Abd al-'Ali Mazlum Shahmirzadi (Shahab), 'Khatirat' (manuscript), 48, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 103.
- 67 Shahmirzadi, 'Khatirat', 49, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 107.
- 68 Shahmirzadi, 'Khatirat', 48, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 107–8.
- 69 Abu al-Qasim Fayzi, *Chabar Sal-u-Nim dar Najafabad*, qtd. in Anita Shahriza'i, 'Tarikh-i Qudama-yi Amr dar Najafabad' (MA thesis, MAMA, 1998), 222–3.
- 70 Fayzi, qtd. in Shahriza'i, 'Tarikh', 229–30.
- 71 Arasteh, *Education*, 157, 164.
- 72 Al-e Dawud, 'Primary Schools', 201.
- 73 Based on the figures, which estimate the number of Baha'is at the beginning of the twentieth century at 100,000 or 1 per cent of the total population of Iran, which at that time was estimated at around ten million.
- 74 Turan Mirhadi, 'Education. VIII. Nursery Schools and Kindergartens', *Elr* 8 (1998): 197.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 417–19.
- 77 Onera A. Merritt-Hawkes, *Persia: Romance and Reality* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1935), 152.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Ibid., 153.
- 81 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 420.
- 82 Ibid., 413–14.
- 83 Ibid., 414.
- 84 Ibid., 414–16.
- 85 Ibid., 416–17.
- 86 In the big hall of the kindergarten, all kinds of animals and insects were placed, to familiarize the children with a variety of animals.
- 87 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 421–3.
- 88 Ibid., 424.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Mirhadi, 'Nursery Schools and Kindergartens', 197.
- 91 'Abdu'l-Baha's tablet to Aqa Mihdi and Aqa Habibullah Du-Minadi (both in Hamadan), end of July 1908, qtd. in Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 313.
- 92 Baha'u'llah, *Gleanings*, 9, 189–90.
- 93 Banani, *Modernization*, 95.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 63–4.
- 96 Sifidvash, *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizhad*, 152; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 366.
- 97 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 379.
- 98 Ibid., 115.

- 99 Ibid., 129.
- 100 Ibid., 181.
- 101 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 29.
- 102 Sattareh Farman Farmaian (with Dona Munker), *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Islamic Revolution* (London: Corgi Books, 1993), 17.
- 103 'Abd al-Husayn Mirza Farman Farma, Nusrat al-Daulih II, Salar-i Lashkar, Amir-i Tuman (1859–1939), grandson of 'Abbas Mirza Nayib al-Saltanah and son-in-law of Muzaffar al-Din Shah Qajar. According to Thabit, the Farman Farma was one of the famous people in Iran who used to be invited to Tarbiyat's ceremonies; see Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 55. He also seems to have been one of the non-Baha'i members of that school's management board.
- 104 Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 17, 75.
- 105 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 190, 202, 242; Furugh Arbab, *Akhtaran-i Taban* (Tehran: MMMA, 1970), 401; Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 27; Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 75.
- 106 Ruhullah Mehrabkhani, 'Sharh-i Hayat-i Jinab Fayzi: Mururi bar Ayyam-i Bayrut-Najafabad va Qazvin', *Khushiba'i az Kharman-i Adab va Hunar* 10 (1999): 39–40.
- 107 H. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen (British Ambassador, Tehran) to Sir John Simon (British Foreign Secretary, 1931–5), Tehran, 15 December 1934, FO 371/17917, File E7789/7789/34, no. 554 (also in Momen, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 478).
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 *The Baha'i World*, vol. 6 (1934–6), 27.
- 110 Furugh Zafar Bakhtiyari, 'Rah-i 'Alaj', *Ittila'at*, year 7, no. 1779, 12 December 1932, 1, qtd. in *Nibzat-i Nisvan-i Sharq*, ed. Ghulam-Riza Salami and Afsanah Najmabadi (Tehran: Shirazih, 2005), appendix 13, 273.
- 111 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 65. For the names of the Baha'i schools that employed Muslim employees, see Table 1.
- 112 For the list of Baha'i schools which were attended by non-Baha'is, see Table 1.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Shoghi Effendi, *Qarn-i Badi'*, trans. Nasrullah Mauvaddat (4 vols., Tehran: MMMA, 1968), 1: 69–70.
- 2 Ibid., 2: 331–2.
- 3 Ibid., 333. When Kamran Mirza heard of the beautiful voice of a certain *rauzeit-khan* named Husayn-'Ali, from Ayval – a village in Mazandaran – he hurried to summon him, and brought him to Tehran before Nasir al-Din Shah. The shah was so impressed and moved by his voice that he bestowed on him the title of *Bulbul al-Zakirin* (Canary of the Praisers of God). But after a short while, when the fact that he was a Baha'i was revealed, his title was taken away from him, as well as his right of *rauzeit-kb(v)ani*, and everyone distanced themselves from him. See Badi'ullah Imani, 'Risalih-yi Jughrafiya-yi Tarikhi-yi Amr dar Ayval' (manuscript), 14–17, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 93.
- 4 Shoghi Effendi, *Qarn-i Badi'*, 2: 333–4, 342–4; Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864–1914: A Study in Imperialism* (London: Yale University Press, 1968), 456; Baha'u'llah, *Ma'idih-yi Asimani*, 8: 150.
- 5 Sayyid Nasrullah Baqirov to 'Abdu'l-Baha, Tehran, 25 Jumada II 1331/1 June 1913, *BWCA*, AA001/001/05960.
- 6 Martin, *The Qajar Pact*, 82.
- 7 For a detailed account of the Yazd persecutions, see Haji Muhammad Tahir Malmiri, *Tarikh-i Shubada-yi Yazd* (Cairo: Faraj Allah Zaki al-Kurdi, AH 1342/1923–4).
- 8 Arthur H. Hardinge (British minister, Tehran) to Lord Henry Charles Lansdowne (British

- secretary for foreign affairs) (secret & confidential), Gulahek, 9 July 1903, FO 60/666, no. 102. E. Eldred, British consular agent in Yazd, reported (in an attachment to the above) that Jalal al-Daulih had a Baha'i blown from a cannon and another's throat cut 'to appease the crowd.'
- 9 Hardinge to Lansdowne, *ibid*.
 - 10 For a more detailed account of Baha'i persecutions at that time, and a description of their savagery, see Nadirih Thabit-'Arabadi, 'Barrasi-yi Ta'assub-i Mazhabi dar Iran va Rah-i Hal-i An' (MA thesis, MAMA, 1999), 94. However, figures about the number of Babi/Baha'i deaths since 1848 vary greatly. For example, while Thabit-'Arabadi claims that during 1848–53 ('*Abd-i A'la*') some 20,000 Babis lost their lives, various other sources (mentioned in Nabil-i A'zam's account below) estimated the number of deaths at anywhere from 10,000 to 30,000. Zabihi-Moghaddam, however, finds these figures exaggerated and believes that most of the Babi/Baha'i fatalities were the result of the early State-Babi clashes (which he evaluates at around 2,700, being the total number of dead Babis in those clashes), and finds the figure of 5,000 for the entire Qajar period more realistic. Alessandro Bausani, on the other hand, claims that those killed in persecutions of the Babi/Baha'is from 1844 to the present day are about 20,000. See Thabit-'Arabadi, *ibid*.; Nabil-i A'zam, *The Dawn-Breakers: Nabil's Narrative of the Early Days of the Baha'i Revelation* (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1932; 1999 printing), 605, note; Siyamak Zabihi-Moghaddam, 'The Babi-State Conflict at Shaykh Tabarsi', *Iranian Studies* 35, 1–3 (Winter–Summer 2002): 87–90; Alessandro Bausani, *Religion in Iran: From Zoroaster to Baha'u'llah*, trans. J. M. Marchesi (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000), 391.
 - 11 Shoghi Effendi, *Qarn-i Badi'*, 2: 256, 259–260. The Iranian Parliament (*Majlis*), for example, was accused of being an assembly of Babis and infidels; see Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia*, 513.
 - 12 For details of anti-Baha'ism in the Pahlavi period, see Chapter 5; Chehabi, 'Anatomy of Prejudice' 184–99; and Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, 'Anti-Baha'ism and Islamism in Iran', 200–31. For a general account of the Baha'i persecutions, see MacEoin, 'Bahai Persecutions', 461–4.
 - 13 Sayyid Muhammad-'Ali Jamalzadhi, 'Yadigarha-yi Daurih-yi Tahsil', *Rabnama-yi Kitab* 17, 4–6 (s. 1353/1974): 398–404; Daulatabadi, *Hayat-i Yabya*, 1: 224–5.
 - 14 Avarih, *Al-Kawakib*, 2: 73.
 - 15 'Nigahi bih Tarikh: Payiha-yi Hukumat-i Manhus-i Pahlavi Chih-gunih Ustuvur Shud (2)', *Nabard-i Millat* (a Tehran daily), 15 Murdad 1358/6 August 1979.
 - 16 *Ibid*.
 - 17 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 69–72; Qavam al-Saltanah to the Minister of Education, Endowments and Health, Tehran, 25 October 1921, no. 11018, in Vathiqi, 98; Kashan authorities to Prime Minister, Kashan, 17 October 1921, no. 67, in Vathiqi, 98; Fayzi, *Hayat-i Hazrat-i 'Abd al-Baha*, 321; 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari, *Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Ishraq Khavari* (16 vols., Tehran?: n.p., n.d.), 14: 2169. Misbah, who continued in his post, was thus contained. However, he did not cease to hate Baha'is or their school. In the late 1920s, when he was invited to the 6th grade graduation ceremony of the school, he stopped a student from reading an address by the school manager to the invited dignitaries once he learned that the student was a Baha'i. See Vathiqi, 66–7.
 - 18 *Abang-i Badi'* 32, 347 (1978): 38.
 - 19 Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 302–3.
 - 20 Isma'il Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran* (Sari: n.p., 1966), 2: 232–3.
 - 21 Fathullah Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baha'i dar Najafabad*, ed. Vahid Rafati (Darmstadt: 'Asr-i Jadid, 2004), 108–9.
 - 22 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 312–14.

- 23 Ibid., 314.
- 24 The 12-day Baha'i Festival that commemorates the days spent by Baha'u'llah in the Najibiyiyh Garden preparing for his exile from Baghdad to Istanbul in 1863 and during which time he announced that he was the 'Promised One of all ages.'
- 25 Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 329–30.
- 26 Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 161.
- 27 Ibid., 162.
- 28 Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 318.
- 29 Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 162–3. André's former name was 'Abdullah. He was the son of Aqa Sulaiman Zargar. He studied in the Alliance School and, after graduation, left for France, where he pursued his academic studies in education and pedagogy. In 1910 he was invited to become the Ta'iyid School's headmaster, which he accepted. He was named André following his trip to France (304).
- 30 It should be noted that during the entire period of World War I, north-west Iran was occupied by Ottoman forces.
- 31 Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 162–4.
- 32 Head of the Kashan and Natanz branch of the Ministry of Education, Endowments and Fine Arts, to the Ministry of Education, Endowments and Fine Arts (Tehran), Kashan, 25 May 1921, no. 245, qtd. in Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 88.
- 33 Manager of the Vahdat-i Bashar School in Kashan to the Exalted Minister of Education, October 1921, qtd. in Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 91.
- 34 Bayza'i, a Treasury official in Kashan, reported at the time that those anti-Baha'i clerics were corrupt people who belonged to the 'Hauzih-yi Islami' led by Mulla Baqir Misgar and Sayyid Mahmud Rauzih-Khan, who used to incite the people to destroy the school's building, kill its founders and staff and pillage their and the school's belongings, by crying that 'in Iraq they kill the Babis, why are you sitting idle . . .'; (Bayza'i to Amir A'lam, 12 October 1921, qtd. in Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih' 93).
- 35 See, for example, the testimonies of Yadullah Kayvani and Nasrullah Haqiqi (concerning the Sa'adat-i Milli-yi Banin School in Najafabad) and Muhammad-'Ali Parsa (concerning the Husayniyyih Boys' School in Sangsar), in Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 116 and 169–170; 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish (concerning the Tarbiyat Boys and Girls' Schools in Tehran), in Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 8: 23–5; Lalihzar Lalihzari Hamadani (concerning the Ta'iyid Boys' School in Hamadan), in Vathiqli, 318–19; Afsar Muhammadi (Karimi) (concerning the Tarbiyat Girls' School in Yazd), in Vathiqli, 368; Nur al-Din Shafi'ipur (concerning the Salariyyih School in Sari), in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 31; Shahmirzadi (concerning the school in Ayval), in 'Khatirat', 35, 38–9, 44, 47–9, qtd. in Iqani, 96–9 and 107–8.
- 36 See, for example, the attacks mentioned in Chapter Three on non-Baha'i girls' schools.
- 37 See MMA, *Muntakhabati az Atbar-i Mubarakib dar barib-yi Ta'lim va Tarbiyat* (Tehran: MMA, 1976), 132–3.
- 38 'Ata'ullah Bakhshayish memoirs, qtd. in Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 40; Rafati, 'Bahai Schools', 468.
- 39 *Star of the West*, 1, 1 (21 March 1910): 12–13 and 1, 10 (8 September 1910): 2–5.
- 40 'Ishrat Midhat, 'Khatirati az Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banat', *Payam-i Baba'i* 91 (June 1987): 15. These clashes were also described in detail by Dr Sarah Clock (see Clock to Platt, 20 November 1916, 2, OPP).
- 41 Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilahi*, 1: 396.
- 42 Anon., 'Madaris-i Baha'i-yi Abadih', *Payam-i Baba'i*, 166 (September 1993): 33.
- 43 Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 360.
- 44 Ibid., 46.
- 45 Shahmirzadi, 'Khatirat', 35, 38–9, 44, 47, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 96–9.

- 46 Mazandarani, *Zubur-al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 2: 434–5. Soon afterwards, Shaykh Ghulam-‘Ali, a local cleric, founded a society for killing Baha’is, but was himself killed, together with his co-conspirator, the governor of Babul, during an incident (probably clashes with Sardar Jalil’s forces).
- 47 Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 2: 434–5. Nuri himself was head of the Babul Treasury.
- 48 Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 4: 459.
- 49 Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 116.
- 50 For more details on such animosities, see Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*.
- 51 Mehrdad Amanat, ‘Messianic Expectation and Evolving Identities’, 18. For the range of causes of the animosity which existed between these two wings, and between Jews and Baha’is in general, see 18–22.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 On the rise of Riza Khan, see Nikki R. Keddie, *Qajar Iran and the Rise of Reza Khan, 1796–1925* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1999); Cyrus Ghani, *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah: From Qajar Collapse to Pahlavi Rule* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1998); Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000).
- 2 For a detailed description of Riza Shah’s reforms, see Banani, *Modernization*.
- 3 Hamid Basirat-Manish, ‘*Ulama va Rizhim-i Riza Shah: Nazari bar ‘Amalkard-i Siyasi-Farhangi-yi Ruhaniyun dar Salba-yi 1305–1320 s {1926–1941}*’, 2nd edn (Tehran: ‘Uruj, s. 1378/1999, 153.
- 4 Translation of ‘Ali Akbar Furutan’s article in Thabit, *Tarikhchih*, 145–6; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 9: 331–2.
- 5 ‘Ali Asghar Hikmat (Acting Minister of Education) to Head of Banin High-School, Tehran, 17 Azar 1313 (8 December 1934), no. 8315/42521, qtd. in Moayyad, ‘Scholarly Dilettantism’, 333. See also Appendix.
- 6 On the Baha’i holy days, see Amin Banani, ‘Bahai Faith. II. Bahai Calendar and Festivals’, *EIr* 3 (1989): 446–7. While all the Baha’i festivals are observed on the solar calendar in the West, in Iran the dates of the festivals changed for they were calculated according to the lunar calendar. Thus, while the Bab’s martyrdom was marked by Baha’is in the West on July 9, the Baha’is in Iran celebrated it on 28 Sha‘ban (which, in 1934, fell on 6 December).
- 7 For a selection of descriptions of the closure of those schools, see Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 9: 331–8 (for the closure of the Baha’i school in Kashan); Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 117, 133–4 (for Najafabad); Anon., ‘Bunyan-i Madaris-i Baha’i-yi Qazvin’, *Payam-i Baha’i* 173 (April 1994): 31, 34 (for Qazvin); Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 107–8 (for Tehran); Vathiqi, 280 (for Abadih); Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 4: 459 and Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 109–10 and Vathiqi, 331–2 (for Hamadan); Vathiqi, 368–70, 382–4 and 397–8 (for Yazd); and Vathiqi, 47 (for Aran). See also *The Baha’i World*, vol. 6 (1934–6), 27.
- 8 Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 369, 383.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 369.
- 10 Shahriyari, ‘Ta’til’, 32.
- 11 Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 332.
- 12 Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 76.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 76, 77, 78.
- 14 Shahriyari, ‘Ta’til’, 28.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 Memo by A. E. Lambert (the Foreign Office), London, 2 January 1935, FO 371/17917, File E7789/7789/34 (also in Momen, *Babi and Baha’i Religions*, 478–9).

- 17 Memo by G. W. Rendel (counsellor, Eastern Dept., Foreign Office), London, 9 January 1935, FO 371/17917, File E7789/7789/34 (also in Momen, *ibid.*, 479).
- 18 Memo by Lambert, 2 January 1935.
- 19 Cordell Hull to William H. Hornibrook (telegram), Washington DC, 14 December 1934, BWCA, GA019/049/003 (copy).
- 20 Hornibrook to Hull (telegram), Tehran, 15 December 1934 (copy).
- 21 Moayyad, 'Scholarly Dilettantism', 329.
- 22 H. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen (British Ambassador, Tehran) to Sir John Simon (British Foreign Secretary, 1931–5), Tehran, 15 December 1934, FO 371/17917, File E7789/7789/34, no. 554 (also in Momen, *Babi and Baba'i Religions*, 478).
- 23 It is not clear, nor was any information found explaining, why the school was open on that day.
- 24 Hikmat, *Si Kbatirih*, 241–2.
- 25 Sulaiman Bibbudi, *Khatirat-i Sulaiman Bibbudi* in Riza Shab: *Khatirat-i Sulaiman Bibbudi, Shams Pablavi, 'Ali Izadi*, ed. Ghulam-Husayn Mirza Salih (Tehran: Chap-i Nau, s. 1372/1993), 336–7. It could be that the deceased person referred to by Bibbudi was none other than Dr Susan Moody, who died on 23 October 1934 in Tehran. An American Baha'i teacher, she came to Iran specifically to found the Tarbiyat Girls' School, which could very reasonably explain the closure of the Tarbiyat schools in Tehran as an act of respect; see Glenn Cameron and Wendi Momen, *A Basic Baha'i Chronology* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1996), 246.
- 26 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 28; Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, Tehran, 15 December 1934.
- 27 Baqir Kazimi to Iranian representatives abroad, n.d. (probably December 1934 or slightly later), BWCA, GA019/071/003 (copy).
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 Momen, *Babi and Baba'i Religions*, 462.
- 30 Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 61.
- 31 Momen, *Babi and Baba'i Religions*, 462–3. On this episode, see Michael P. Zirinsky, 'Blood, Power, and Hypocrisy: The Murder of Robert Imbrie and American Relations with Pahlavi Iran, 1924', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, 3 (August 1986): 275–92.
- 32 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 28–9.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 34 Shoghi Effendi, *Dawn of a New Day* (New Delhi: BPT, n.d.), 52.
- 35 A major milestone in the search for such public recognition was Shoghi Effendi's decision, soon after he had assumed leadership of the worldwide Baha'i community, to eliminate completely the Shi'i practice of *taqiyya* (dissimulation) in the Iranian Baha'i community. See his account of events, and the actions taken to gain recognition of the independence of the Baha'i Faith, in *God Passes By*, chap. 24.
- 36 Parvin Paidar, *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 111.
- 37 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 369–70. But according to a report in *The Baha'i World*, vol. 4 (1930–2), 81, Baha'i marriages were being performed and at least tacitly recognized before 1933.
- 38 Shoghi Effendi to an individual Baha'i (probably Jazzab), January 1929, in Shoghi Effendi, *Tauqi'at-i Mubarakih-yi Hazrat-i Vali Amrullah 1922–1948* (3 vols., Tehran: MMMA, 129–30 BE/1973–4), 2 (referring to the years 1927–39): 131–3.
- 39 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 30.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 41 In 1932, 202 out of the 541 students of Tarbiyat-i Banin School were non-Baha'is, while in 1929, 352 out of the 719 students of Tarbiyat-i Dukhtaranih School were Muslims; Rafati, 'Bahai Schools', 468.

- 42 Arbab, *Khanib-i Muqaddas-i Man*, 7.
- 43 Baha'u'llah, *The Kitab-i-Aqdas: The Most Holy Book* (Haifa: BWC, 1992), no. 159 (pp. 76–7) and note 179 (p. 242).
- 44 Research Department, BWC, *Women: Baba'i Writings on the Equality of Men and Women* (London: BPT, 1986), 5. For a short account on Baha'i women, see Susan Stiles Maneck, 'Baha'i Women', *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures*, ed. Suad Joseph (Leiden: Brill, 2005), vol. 11: *Family, Law and Politics*, 15–18. For a more detailed study of Baha'u'llah's view on the status of women and his tablets to women, see Brookshaw, 'Instructive Encouragement', 49–93.
- 45 Houchang E. Chehabi, 'The Banning of the Veil and Its Consequences', in *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921–1941*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (London: Routledge, 2003), 197; V. Rafati, 'Bahai Faith. V. The Bahai Communities of Iran', *Elr* 3 (1989): 456. On the pioneering role of Baha'i women in the advancement of women in Iran, see Siyamak Zabihi-Moqaddam, 'The Babi and Baha'i Religions and the Advancement of Women in Iran, 1848–1954' (PhD dissertation, University of Haifa, forthcoming).
- 46 The recognized religious minorities were the Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews, who were granted freedom of worship. It is interesting to note that major Iranian dailies, such as *Ittila'at*, used to state the exact times of sunrise and sunset for the use of these religious minorities and in their respective calendars; see, for example, *Ittila'at*, 18 Azar 1313/9 December 1934, no. 2360, 6.
- 47 Moayyad, 'Scholarly Dilettantism', 330.
- 48 'Amuzish va Parvarish-i Mudirn dar Iran', 61.
- 49 *The Baba'i World*, vol. 2 (1926–8), 187–90.
- 50 *The Baba'i World*, vol. 5 (1932–4), 446–9.
- 51 *The Baba'i World*, vol. 6 (1934–6), 521–4.
- 52 *The Baba'i World*, vol. 9 (1940–4), 672–5.
- 53 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By* (Wilmette, IL: BPT, 1970; 1st edn, 1944); Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 239.
- 54 *The Baba'i World*, vol. 6 (1934–6), 22–3.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 94.
- 56 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 27. On 3 November 1954 Shahriyari attended a lecture in Shiraz by Furutan, who spoke on the closure of the Baha'i schools in Iran some 20 years earlier. Shahriyari's notes from that lecture were published in *Payam-i Baha'i* as 'Ta'til'.
- 57 Mihrdad Bashiri, 'Manshur-i Najm-i Bakhtar: Avvalin Jaridih-yi Farsi-zaban-i Baha'i dar Gharb', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 305 (April 2005): 36.
- 58 *Akbbar-i Amri* 9, 3 Jawza 1302/24 May 1923. Baha'i regional conventions were held to enable delegates from various Baha'i localities to consult about matters of mutual interest to the assemblies and communities in the region. In 1925 a regional convention was held in Khurasan, and other Baha'is across the country soon adopted the idea. *Akbbar-i Amri* 4, 1 Azar 1304/22 November 1925.
- 59 According to Muhammad-Hasan Asif, the identity that Riza Shah was promoting had different dimensions, including historical (by renewing the glory and nationalism from pre-Islamic times), racial (by seeking its Aryan origins), religious (by giving preference to the Zoroastrian religion over Islam, on the one hand, while strengthening secularist trends, on the other) and cultural (mainly by purifying the Persian language of foreign words, especially Arabic). See Asif, *Mabani-i Idi'uluzbik*, 221–53.
- 60 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 362.
- 61 Shoghi Effendi, *Dawn of a New Day*, 52.

- 62 For a review and analysis of the status of Baha'is in Egypt, see Johanna Pink, 'A Post-Qur'anic Religion between Apostasy and Public Order: Egyptian Muftis and Courts on the Legal Status of the Baha'i Faith', *Islamic Law and Society* 10, 3 (2003): 409–34.
- 63 *The Baha'i World*, vol. 2 (1926–8), 32.
- 64 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 27–8. Mirza Muhammad-'Ali Khan Furughi served as Foreign Minister in Haj Mukhbir al-Saltanih Hidayat's cabinet. He was the first prime minister of Riza Shah in December 1925 (up to 1926), was later Iranian delegate to the League of Nations, prime minister again (1933–5), and when the Allies invaded Iran (25 August 1941) Riza Shah reappointed Furughi to the post of prime minister, which he held up to 1942. Furughi was certainly not a cleric, nor was he known to be an Azali. What Varedi does mention in his biography of Furughi is that he was member of the Masonic lodge Luzh-i Bidari-yi Iran (Loge du Réveil de l'Iran), which was founded on 21 April 1908. Among its members were Sayyid Nasrallah Taqavi, Mirza Husayn Khan Shukuh al-Mulk (later known as Husayn Shukuh), Amir Khan (later known as Amir A'lam), Hakim al-Mulk (later known as Ibrahim Hakimi), Sayyid Hasan Taqizadih, Vusuq al-Daulih (later known as Hasan Vusuq), Mastaufi al-Mamalik (later known as Husayn Mastaufi), Qavam al-Saltanih (later known as Ahmad Qavam), Mushir al-Daulih (Hasan Pirniya), and his brother Mu'tamin al-Mulk (Husayn Pirniya). See Varedi, 'Muhammad 'Ali Furughi', 59–63. It could be that Furughi felt the Baha'i faith and Baha'is were competing with the activity of this Masonic lodge, which was closed down by government order in 1933, just before the establishment of the Baha'i NSA.
- 65 Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, Tehran, 15 December 1934.
- 66 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 28.
- 67 Varedi, 'Muhammad 'Ali Furughi', 76–95.
- 68 According to Rassekh, he wrote an entry on 'demography in Iran' in the *Iranshabr Encyclopaedia*, in which he mentioned religious minorities such as Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians, alongside Baha'is. But once the encyclopaedia was published he learned that Hikmat, as editor-in-chief of *Iranshabr*, had not only made some additions without seeking Rassekh's permission, but had even erased any mention of the Baha'is. This makes Rassekh suspect that Hikmat himself might have had some grudge against the Baha'is. See Shapour Rassekh, 'Khatirih'i az Marhum 'Ali Asghar Hikmat', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 303 (February 2005): 38–9. As for Ishraq-Khavari, he was certain that both ministers, namely Furughi and Hikmat, had 'initiated a new plot, which brought the closure of more than 60 Baha'i schools for boys and girls throughout Iran, with no permit being given to the [Baha'i community for the] opening of [Baha'i] schools in Iran to date.' See Ishraq-Khavari, *Da'irat al-Ma'arif*, 14: 2169.
- 69 Ihsan Tabari, *Iran dar Du Sadib-yi Vapasim* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Hizb-i Tudih, s. 1360/1981), 248–51. One should not take this view of Ihsan Tabari at face value. Although he may be right about the anti-Baha'i feelings of some of the names mentioned, he could be wrong about others. For example, Qasim Ghani was a *Baba'izadib* and therefore not likely to be anti-Baha'i. Some doubts also exist about Furuzanfar being anti-Baha'i. It could well be that political and ideological reasons lay behind Tabari's charges; after all, since the inception of the Babi movement and the Baha'i faith, accusing rivals as 'Babis' or 'Baha'is' was a common phenomenon.
- 70 *The Baha'i World*, vol. 6 (1934–6), 27.
- 71 Smith, *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Baha'i Faith*, 70.
- 72 Ervand Abrahamian, *Tortured Confessions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 28–9.
- 73 Indeed, in hundreds of books published from the 1930s onwards in Iran, Baha'is have been accused of being unpatriotic, conspiring with foreigners, betraying the state, creating dissemination among Muslims, and so on; see Bahman Nik-Andish, 'Mubarizih'i Na-Javanmardanih', pt. 1, *Payam-i Baha'i*, 305 (April 2005): 21. In one of those books, published

first in 1935 under the title *Zanjir-i Khushbakhti* (Chain of Happiness), and in 1941 under the title *I'tirafat-i Siyasi-i Kniaz Dalquraki* (Political Confessions of Prince Dalquraki), supposedly written by Dimitri Ivanovich Dolgorukov, Russian Ambassador to Iran during 1845–54, he 'confessed' to having created the Babi and Baha'i faiths in order to create divisions within Islam. See *Yaddashtba-yi Kinyaz Dalquraki: Asrar-i Paydayish-i Mazhab-i Bab va Baha dar Iran* (Tehran, 1941). For its refutation by the Baha'is and prominent historians, see *Babthi dar Radd-i Yaddashtba-yi Maj'ul Muntasib bih Kinyaz Dalquraki* ([Tehran]: MMA, 1970).

- 74 'Protocol N 105 of the meeting of anti-religious Commission of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party [TsK VKP(b)]', 14 December 1928, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sovremennoi Politicheskoi Istorii, coll. 17, series 113, file 871, qtd. in Shahvar et al., *Baha'is of Iran, Transcaasia and the Caucasus*, vol. 2. *Bezbozbnik* was a magazine of the anti-religious commission of the Communist Party, and *Izvestiia* was one of the most popular dailies in the USSR.
- 75 In 1929, the first Baha'i youth group was established in Tehran, and was soon followed by similar groups in all the major Baha'i centres in Iran. Rafati, 'The Bahai Communities of Iran', 456.
- 76 Since the Baha'is have never been recognized as a religious minority in Iran (and other Islamic countries), they have been prohibited from burying their dead in Muslim cemeteries. This forced the Baha'is to endeavour to acquire their own burial grounds (termed *Gulastan-i Javid* or 'Garden of Eternity'). Rafati, *ibid.*, 457–8.
- 77 The first Baha'i fund (*shirkat-i khayriyyih*) was established in Tehran in 1907, mainly for educational purposes (to support Baha'i teachers, assist students in higher education, and facilitate the education of Baha'i children) as well as assistance to the socially vulnerable (orphans, the aged and the disabled). In 1917 a Children's Savings Company, which later was registered as *Shirkat-i Naunabalan*, was founded in Qazvin and later grew into a major financial foundation; see Rafati, *ibid.*, 458.
- 78 The Baha'i Administrative Order called upon Baha'is to adhere to discipline, with sanctions applied suited to the offence, from conscious and flagrant disregard of fundamental Baha'i precepts and laws to disobedience to the head of the faith; see Rafati, *ibid.* On the Baha'i Administrative Order, see Smith, *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Baha'i Faith*, 24–5.
- 79 In 1921 the Baha'i community of Iran began the publication of a magazine called *Akbar-i Amri* (Baha'i News), which till its closure in 1980 was one of the most important means of communication among the members of the Baha'i community of Iran and with Baha'is outside that country. Apart from the holy writings of the Baha'i faith, it contained domestic and foreign news, official announcement of Baha'i administrative bodies, and articles on various aspects of the faith. Rafati, *ibid.*, 457.
- 80 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 362.
- 81 Baha'u'llah, *Epistle*, 27.
- 82 Baha'u'llah, in *Baha'i Education*, no. 14.
- 83 It is legitimate to wonder whether Riza Shah really was aware of the principles of the Baha'i faith in general, and the place of education in that faith in particular. It is possible that until the early 1930s his knowledge of the Baha'is and the Baha'i faith was quite basic, but it is probable that after his attention was drawn to the Baha'is (for closing their schools on a day which was not a national holiday and in spite of previous warnings), he categorized them as 'disobedient citizens'. It is likely that he then demanded more information on the Baha'is and their faith, habits, leadership, etc., which was probably provided to him by his aides, advisors and secret police, the *Amniyyih*.
- 84 Shoghi Effendi to the Local Spiritual Assembly of Tehran (translated from the Persian), 19 December 1923, in UHJ, *Compilation of Compilations*, 1: 294, no. 652.

- 85 From a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi to an individual believer dated 5 May 1934, cited in *Baba'i Canada* 9, 5 (144 BE/July 1987): 4.
- 86 Sayyid Hasan Taqizadieh, *Zindigi-yi Tufani: Khatirat-i Sayyid Hasan Taqizadieh*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran: 'Ilmi, s. 1368/1989), 173.
- 87 People such as Sir Ronald Storrs (first military governor of Jerusalem, then the first military governor of northern Palestine [Haifa], and later civil governor of Jerusalem); Sir Herbert Samuel (first British High Commissioner for Palestine); Viscount Allenby (commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and the conqueror of Palestine in 1917); Major-General Sir Arthur Money (first chief administrator of the Southern Occupied Enemy Territory [Palestine]); Major-General Sir Harry Watson (his successor) and Colonel Stanton (military governor of Haifa). Through these and other British high civil officials and military commanders, 'Abdu'l-Baha, and later Shoghi Effendi, were able to get access to other high-ranking British officials in Iran, such as Sir Percy Z. Cox and Herman C. Norman (both British ministers in Tehran); see Momen, *Babi and Baba'i Religions*, 339–47.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 339.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 343–5.
- 90 'Abbas-Quli Khan (1864–1938), was interpreter at the British Legation in Tehran from 1885 to 1901. He was then appointed oriental secretary (1 April 1901), and later head of the Oriental Chancery (1908). He retired in 1929; see Momen, *ibid.*, 489.
- 91 Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, Tehran, 15 December 1934.
- 92 *Star of the West*, 1, 1 (21 March 1910): 12–13 and 1, 10 (8 September 1910): 2–5.
- 93 Momen, *Babi and Baba'i Religions*, 469, 471.
- 94 See Jahangir Ashidari, *Tarikh-i Pahlavi va Zartushtiyan* (Tehran: Hukht, 2535 Shahanshahi/ s. 1355/1976) for an account of the attitude of the Pahlavi state towards the Zoroastrian community in Iran.
- 95 From 1935 the situation of Iranian Jewry began to worsen, especially due to the anti-Jewish activities of German agents in Iran, but this trend started to reverse with the Second World War; see Parviz Rahbar, *Tarikh-i Yahud az Isarat-i Babul ta Imruz* (Tehran: Sipih, s. 1325/1946), 350.
- 96 Cohen, 'Tmurot', 74.
- 97 One could think of the demolishing of the Baha'i shrine in Shiraz in 1955, under Muhammad Riza Shah Pahlavi's rule (1941–79).
- 98 For example, in 1924, when Riza Khan considered forming a republican government in Iran, he was confronted by bitter opposition from the Shi'i clerics, who even suggested that he was a Babi who conspired to destroy Islam. In response to such accusations and opposition, on the morning of Tasu'a, the anniversary of the injury (and later martyrdom) of Imam Husayn, Riza Khan marched at the head of a military band with his bare head covered with straw. Then he made a pilgrimage to the Shi'a shrines in Najaf and Karbala. Finally, the clerics agreed to his founding a new dynasty, the Pahlavi, replacing the Qajar, but once he had ascended the throne, Riza Shah came down hard on the clerics. See Banani, *Modernization*, 42.
- 99 Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 362–3.
- 100 Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785–1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 151.
- 101 Chehabi, 'The Banning', 203. Chehabi claims that the dismissal of Baha'i officers from the army early in 1936, and the systematic removal of Jews from the Customs Administration and other offices in the same year, were unsuccessful efforts at making some pro-Islamic gesture 'in order to counteract the perception that unveiling had been motivated by opposition to Islam'.
- 102 *Ibid.*, 197.

- 103 Eliz Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 52. The one measure specifically targeted at the Baha'i community was the non-recognition of Baha'i marriages. For some of the measure taken by Riza Shah's state against other religious minorities, see 43, 46, 49, 55. For a comparison between the Baha'is and members of other non-Muslim communities in Iran, see Eliz Sanasarian, 'The Comparative Dimension of the Baha'i Case and Prospects for Change in the Future', in Brookshaw and Fazel, *The Baha'is of Iran*, 156–69.
- 104 Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran*, 55.
- 105 For a complete list of anti-Baha'i measures taken by the first Pahlavi regime, see Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 363; and Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, Tehran, 15 December 1934.
- 106 Banai, *Modernization*, 25–7.
- 107 Along similar pro-reform and modernist lines, one could explain Riza Shah's support for such contemporary streams of thought that could form an alternative to conservative Shi'ism, such as modern Islam (as propagated by people such as Shari'at Sangilaji), secular anticlericalism (such as Ahmad Kasravi), and Sufi 'Irfan (such as Muhammad-'Ali Furughi); see Basirat-Manish, *Ulama va Rizhim-i Riza Shah*, 159–67.
- 108 Douglas Martin, *The Persecution of the Baha'is of Iran, 1844–1984* (Ottawa: Association for Baha'i Studies, 1984), 16.
- 109 On the Jahrum massacre, see the various reports in Momen, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 465–72. Later in the same year (October 1926), Nicolson, the British ambassador to Tehran, learned of another persecution against the Baha'is, this time in the shape of some anti-Baha'i measures initiated by the sub-governor of Shishvan, near Maraghih. This persecution also went unpunished. See Momen, *ibid.*, 472–3.
- 110 Martin, *Persecution of the Baha'is of Iran*, 18.
- 111 On this visit, see Afshin Marashi, 'Performing the Nation: The Shah's Official State Visit to Kemalist Turkey, June to July 1934', in *The Making of Modern Iran*, 99–119.
- 112 Szyliowicz, *Education*, 201. See 199–230 for a survey of the educational reforms in Turkey under Atatürk, and their legacy.
- 113 An indication of how events in Turkey were important during Riza Shah's reign can be seen in the fact that one of the leading dailies in Iran had a column titled 'Recent Events in Turkey'; see, for example, *Ittila'at*, 19 Azar 1313/10 December 1313, no. 2361, 2.
- 114 Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 291.
- 115 Cohen, 'Tmurot', 73–4.
- 116 Basirat-Manish, *Ulama va Rizhim-i Riza Shah*, 76.
- 117 Amurian and Kasheff, 'Armenians', 479.
- 118 Catanzaro, 'German Cultural Influence', 564–5.
- 119 Francis-Dehqani, 'British Schools', 291.
- 120 Richard N. Frye, *Persia*, 3rd edn (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969), 47; Banani, *Modernization*, 96. Only French schools were permitted to continue to operate in Iran; see Saddiq, *Tarikh-i Farhang*, 366.
- 121 Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, 15 December 1934.
- 122 James Morgan to George Russell Clerk (British ambassador, Ankara), Smyrna, 19 November 1928, FO 371/13089, file E5621/128/44, no. 80 (also in Momen, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 474).
- 123 W. D. W. Matthews (British consul at Mersin and Adana) to Morgan, Adana, 22 December 1932, 6 February and 9 March 1933, FO 371/16918, files E260/260/44 (no. 36) and E1050/260/44 (no. 11) and file E1568/260/44 (no. 26); also in Momen, *Babi and Baha'i Religions* 474–5.
- 124 Fathullah Nuri Isfandiari, *Rastakhiz-i Iran: Madarik, Maqalat va Nigarishat-i Khariji*, 1299–1323 {1920–1944} (Tehran: n.p., s. 1335/1956), 757, 774.

- 125 'Education. XV. Foreign and Minority Schools in Persia', *Elr* 8 (1998): 214; Michael P. Zirinsky, 'A Panacea for the Ills of the Country: American Presbyterian Education in Inter-War Iran', *Iranian Studies* 26, 1–2 (1993): 134.
- 126 'Education', 214; A. Mansoori, 'American Missionaries in Iran, 1834–1934,' (PhD dissertation, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, 1986), 134–5.
- 127 *Ittila'at*, Saturday, 18 Azar 1313/9 December 1934, no. 2360, 3; Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, 15 December 1934.
- 128 *Ittila'at*, 3. As one can clearly see, there was no mention of the school being Baha'i.
- 129 Later the government endeavoured to induce the former teachers and students of Tarbiyat to transfer to other schools in Tehran; Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, 15 December 1934.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Ibid.; Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 32–4; *The Baha'i World*, vol. 6 (1924–6), 97. The NSA's report cites numerous occurrences including seizure of property, dismissals, public denunciations, closing of Baha'i meeting houses, imprisonment, etc. In some cities the Census and Identification Bureau (as did the army) tried to force the Baha'is to register as Muslims or as belonging to one of the other officially recognized religions and to punish them for identifying themselves as Baha'is (94–106).
- 133 Knatchbull-Hugessen to Simon, 15 December 1934.
- 134 Shahriyari, 'Ta'til', 32–4.
- 135 Ibid., 27.
- 136 'Atiyih Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah-yi Dukhtaranih-yi Baha'iyani Sangsar: Dastan-i Imtihan-i Naha'i-yi Shishum-i Ibtida'i', *Payam-i Baha'i* 203 (October 1996): 30.
- 137 Sifidvash, *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 156; Ruhangiz Hidayati, 'Madrasah-yi Dukhtaranih-yi Hushangi-yi Yazd', *Payam-i Baha'i* 155 (October 1992): 30–1.
- 138 Report by Isfandiyar Hurmuzdiyar Majzub (member of the LSA of Yazd) concerning the closure of the Baha'i schools in Yazd, n.d. (probably April 1935), enclosure in Habibullah Afnan (secretary to the LSA of Yazd) to the NSA in Tehran, Yazd, 2 Jalal 92/20 Farvardin 1314/10 April 1935, BWCA, GA 019/048/001 (copy).
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 'Bastan-i Dabistanha-yi Baha'i', *Gulbahar* (a Yazd weekly), n.d. (probably April 1934).
- 141 It could be that the Baha'is were trying to gain her support because of her elementary studies at the Tarbiyat Girls' School in Tehran.
- 142 Copies of all the petitions are to be found in BWCA, GA019/048/001.
- 143 'Ali-Asghar Hikmat to Mihraban Hidayati (telegram), Tehran, 30 Farvardin 1314/20 April 1935 (copy), in BWCA, GA019/048/001.
- 144 Hidayati to Hikmat, 4 Urdibihisht 1314/25 April 1935, in BWCA, GA019/048/001.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 383–4.
- 147 Shoghi Effendi, *Tauqi'at-i Mubarakib*, 3: 150; *The Baha'i World*, vol. 6 (1934–6), 30.
- 148 Momen, 'Baha'i Schools in Iran', 116.
- 149 Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 88.
- 150 Sifidvash, *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 152.
- 151 Ibid., 155.
- 152 Ibid., 156.
- 153 Mehrabkhani, 'Sharh-i Hayat', 40–1.
- 154 Ilham Mazlum, 'Ayyam-i Iqamat-i Jinab-i Abu al-Qasim Fayzi dar Najafabad' (MA thesis, MAMA, 2001), 74. For a detailed description of such villages and Baha'i education therein, see 74–80.

- 155 'Ali Tavangar, 'Yadi az Baha'iyān-i Shahabad-i Arak', *Payam-i Baba'i* 210 (May 1997): 25.
- 156 Mazlum, *Ayyam*, 65.
- 157 Mario Monterisi, 'Iran', *Manuali di Politica Internazionale* 37 (Milan, 1941): 138–9, qtd. in Banani, *Modernization*, 26 and 163 note 36.
- 158 Husayn Fardust, *Zubur va Suqut-i Saltanat-i Pablavi: Khatirat-i Artisbbud-i Sabiq Husayn Fardust* (2 vols., Tehran: Intisharat-i Ittila'at, s. 1368/1989), 1: 56–7, 374.

CONCLUSION

- 1 See Nabil-i A'zam, *The Dawn-Breakers*, 294–6.

APPENDIX

Table 1

- 1 Hushang Aqa Bala'i, 'Tarikh-i Diyanat-i Muqaddas-i Baha'i dar Qariyyih-yi Matanaq-i Azarbaijan' (MAMA, Tabriz, 1996), 84.
- 2 The names mentioned under this category throughout the entire table are those known for the entire period of operation of the schools.
- 3 'Az Jahan-i Fani bih-Sara-yi Baqi', *Akbbār-i Amri* 47, 6–7: 516–17.
- 4 Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilabi*, 1: 396–7.
- 5 Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 94–102.
- 6 'Nigahi bih Tarikh (2)', *Nabard-i Millat*, 6 August 1979.
- 7 Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 2: 690, 718; Sulaimani, *Masabib-i Hidayat*, 4: 54.
- 8 Among his duties, he was also responsible for administering physical punishment.
- 9 He was only one of those who helped to found the school; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 2: 718. It is most probable that he founded the school with the help of the other members of the LSA of Aran.
- 10 He was previously a Shi'i cleric turned Baha'i; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 48.
- 11 She was Firdausi's spouse (*ibid.*), and because of that she was called *Kbanum-i Mudir* (the manager's wife).
- 12 It seems that Mirza Aqa Rafi'i and Mirza Shahab Fath-i A'zam were those who encouraged 'Abd al-Husayn Avariḥ to become a *maktab-dar* in Ardistan and paid for his expenses, while Rafi'i's sons founded the *maktab-kbanib*; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 167 and pt. 2: 961–2.
- 13 It is not specifically and clearly stated that he taught in Ardistan's Baha'i *maktab-kbanib*, but in one source it is stated that during his teaching trips, he stayed at Najafabad, Ardistan and Rasht; Sulaimani, *Masabib-i Hidayat*, 3: 397.
- 14 The school's name, Vahdat-i Bashār, was chosen by 'Abdu'l-Baha.
- 15 Sulaimani, *Masabib-i Hidayat*, 3: 396 and 4: 54.
- 16 For more details about the school's managers, see *ibid.*, 3: 383, 396–9; 4: 313–14; 7: 357; 9: 331; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 148.
- 17 Their duties included cleaning, following up on students' absences, mail, etc.
- 18 Title of a 4-volume book by Muhammad-'Ali Khan Muzaffari, a collection of children's stories accompanied by pictures, and intended to teach them morals.
- 19 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 65–6.
- 20 It seems that these were used only in the early years; *ibid.*, 65.
- 21 He was the person who drew up the plan of the school; *ibid.*, 54.
- 22 *Akbbār-i Amri*, 39, 11 and 12: 797.
- 23 It was the only school for girls in Kashan, and was registered under the name of Thuraya Mahmudi (Nabili); Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 79, 84.

- 24 Most students did not pay tuition fees for financial reasons, and had the school not been closed in 1935 by the state, it would most probably have had to close because of budgetary deficiencies; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 84.
- 25 It is possible that managers also performed the duties of supervisors.
- 26 In one of those celebrations a show was performed, the message of which was the necessity of knowledge for all; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 83.
- 27 Only one of the teachers is recorded as having whipped students from time to time as physical punishment; *ibid.*, 82–3.
- 28 Apparently there was a body named the Vahdat-i Bashār Schools' Committee (Kumitih-yi Madaris-i Vahdat-i Bashār), which presided over the affairs of both schools (for boys and girls), and in which there were a number of Jews who had newly converted to the Baha'i faith and who had been covering the budget deficits of both schools for some time; the Kashan branch of the ME and Endowments to the ME, Endowments and Fine Arts (in Tehran), Kashan, 25 May 1921, no. 245, in Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 88.
- 29 Since most of the students did not pay tuition fees (probably due to the poor economic state of their families), the school was constantly in danger of being closed, and according to Miss Nabili, had it not been closed by the state (in December 1934), the school would have been most likely closed by the school's board; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 84.
- 30 It seems that both versions are correct, but while the latter version was prevalent during the Qajar period, the former was more in use during Riza Shah's reign.
- 31 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 107. This date stands in contradiction to 1914 – the year mentioned by Fathullah Mudarris, and 1913 – the year mentioned by Mehrabkhani. See Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baha'i dar Najafabad*, 123, and Mehrabkhani, 'Sharh-i Hayat', 40. The reason for these contradictions may be that each source refers to a different opening year and location. Indeed, Mudarris mentions that a few teachers were recruited from Isfahan, with each one teaching for 1–2 years, but often, when there were no funds to pay the salary of the teachers, the school closed down for some time, until money was raised and a new teacher was employed. Then, in 1914, the Baha'i community of Najafabad managed to raise enough money to open a proper school, and employ two teachers (Mirza Muhammad-'Ali Shayiq [brother of Natiq Ardistani] and Muhammad Sadiq Ha'i) to teach grades 1–4 according to the curriculum of the Ministry of Education. This continued successfully until 1917, when due to scarcity and famine (because of WWI and the occupation of Iran by foreign forces – British, Russian and Ottoman), the school ceased to operate. But it seems that Aqa Mirza Fazlullah Nuri, who had arrived in Najafabad to teach Baha'i children, managed to establish a small school with a few students. See Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baha'i dar Najafabad*, 123. Mudarris mentions a certain Baha'i by the name of Haji Asadullah Zayni, who was one of the early Baha'is of Najafabad, and who had opened a *maktab-khanib* for Baha'i children after returning from visiting 'Abdu'l-Baha. Apparently this was the first attempt at introducing education into that place, for Mudarris clearly states that 'in Najafabad no place existed for receiving education [before the opening of that *maktab-khanib*].' It seems that this indeed took place in 1914, while as a result of famine and insecurity throughout Iran – one result of which was scarcity – Zayni and his extended family moved to Tehran, and thus the Baha'i school in Najafabad closed. It was reopened in 1922–3 by the LSA (137).
- 32 For the first six months the number of students did not exceed 15, but much attention was drawn to the school after the mid-year exams, with the local people starting to register their children at the school. Thus, within two years the number of students reached 120; Mudarris, *ibid.*, 137.
- 33 Starting with 1 *riyal* for the 1st grade, adding 1 additional *riyal* for each grade, and thus reaching 6 *riyals* for the 6th grade; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 116.

- 34 In its first location, the school was more like a *maktab-khanib* than a modern school; the two teachers were Fazil Yazdi and Fathullah Mudarris, and the students were mostly taught Arabic. However, given the old state of the building and its unsuitability for a school, it was sold and a new place was bought; *ibid.*, 108.
- 35 Managers used also to perform the duties of superintendents. Managers' duties were replying to enquiries, keeping the files complete and in order, supervising exams and students' behaviour, etc.; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 113.
- 36 Each teacher was responsible for one class, and at any given time there were always six teachers present at the school. All teachers were Baha'i and had a certificate for completing the 6th grade of primary school; *ibid.* Some of the teachers were graduates of the school, or became teachers while in their higher grade of studies (grades 5–6); Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baba'i dar Najafabad*, 137–8.
- 37 Duties of the school caretaker (then named *Baba-yi Madrasah* or School Father) included cleaning the school, keeping the register of absentees and executing punishments; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 114.
- 38 Entered the curriculum gradually; *ibid.*, 112.
- 39 Those started in that school in 1923, according to a directive from the Central Assembly of Tehran (Mahfil-i Muqaddas-i Rauhani-yi Markazi-yi Tehran). These took place on Friday mornings for grades 1–6, but afterwards they were gradually set also for higher grades, until reaching the 12th grade; Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baba'i dar Najafabad*, 139. For more details on these classes, their programmes and content (according to the age of the children), etc., see Furutan, *Usul-i Tadris* and Rastani, *Sayyid Hasan-i Mu'allim*. The *Dars-i Akhlaq* classes had started in the Baha'i world as early as 1898.
- 40 Books were purchased from the market. Those students who could not afford to buy the books would either borrow or hand-copy them; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 111–12.
- 41 Vathiqi (*ibid.*, 112) does not mention the name under which the 6th grade students participated in the national exams, nor the reason for it, although one can assume that it had to do with the fact that the school was Baha'i. Anyway, the school was known to be first rate in terms of education, with all students attending the 6th grade final exams passing them successfully; Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baba'i dar Najafabad*, 138.
- 42 Shahriza'i, 'Tarikh-i Qudama', 221.
- 43 No girls' school existed in Najafabad before the foundation of this school; Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baba'i dar Najafabad*, 140.
- 44 Moved to a different location in 1928–9; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 122.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 122.
- 46 Mudarris, *Tarikh-i Amr-i Baba'i dar Najafabad*, 140.
- 47 Both were sisters and nieces of Mirza 'Abdullah Mutlaq. They were both educated at *Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Banat-i Tehran*; *ibid.*, 124.
- 48 Furutan, Ghazali, Khadim, Tabibi and Rasti were all students at the school who also held honorary teaching duties. All the school's staff were Baha'is, with the exception of Miss Rasti, who was an Azali; *ibid.*, 126.
- 49 For 6th grade certificates, students had to participate in the final national exams, while registering their name separately and under a different school name (Isfahan College); Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 124.
- 50 A heart-shaped pin, with the school's ensign and name, was sold for 2 *riyals* to each student; *ibid.*, 129.
- 51 Shahriza'i, 'Tarikh-i Qudama', 230.
- 52 Also known as 'Tun' or 'Firdaus'; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 145.
- 53 Given the great advance made by the students in the first month, the tuition was raised 'to

- 5 tumans in the second month'; *Abang-i Badi'*, 32, 347 (1978): 28–30. This raise is most unlikely.
- 54 *Payam-i Baba'i*, 173 (April 1994): 29–30.
- 55 During its 30 years of operation, this school (boys and girls) educated thousands of students; *Payam-i Baba'i*, 173 (April 1994): 33.
- 56 Ibid., 30–1; Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilabi*, 1: 412; Sulaymani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 44; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 568, 609; *Akbbar-i Amri*, 38, 9: 312, and 51, 2: 57. No distinction has been made between managers and teachers, although most likely some of them were both.
- 57 All those classes were given during Muhammad Labib's direction of the school; 'Abdu'l-Baha 'Abbas to Muhammad Labib, April 1919, qtd. in Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 153–4. It was Labib who in 1917 founded the Shirkat-i Sahami-yi Nau-Nahalan – a Baha'i savings company aimed at benefitting children – in Qazvin; see Rastani, *Sayyid Hasan Mu'allim*, 95–8.
- 58 This also happened during Labib's direction of the school. Ibid.
- 59 *Payam-i Baba'i*, 173 (April 1994): 1–30.
- 60 Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilabi*, 1: 393–7.
- 61 All teachers and superintendents of the school had been students of the school; *ibid.*, 1: 396, 371; *Payam-i Baba'i*, 173 (April 1994): 31.
- 62 Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilabi*, 1: 394–5; *Payam-i Baba'i*, 31.
- 63 Samandari, *Taraz-i Ilabi*, 1: 397.
- 64 After the 1978–9 Revolution known as *Mahdi-shahr*; Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 162.
- 65 More likely 1917; see Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 28; and Haqiqat-Pazhuh (pseudonym), 'Tahqiq: Madaris-i Baha'i-i Sangsar', *Payam-i Baba'i*, 103 (June 1988): 9.
- 66 One of the leading and devout 'ulama' of Sangsar; Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 163.
- 67 After the final closure of the two Baha'i schools in Sangsar (for boys and girls) and the unofficial running of such primary schools, the local Baha'i community played an important role in opening the first high school in Sangsar. A few members of the local Baha'i community, such as Sirus Javadi Mullak, head of the Sangsar LSA, together with a few local Baha'i merchants (who were also members of the LSA), such as Mirza Ruhullah Mumtazi Tajir, Aqa Husayn Thabiti Tajir, and Mirza Chiragh-'Ali Tibyani Tajir, met the head of Semnan's Ministry of Education, and took it upon themselves to pay all expenses, including the salary for the school's staff for the first year; Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 10–11.
- 68 Apparently, there were many students with similar first names, and because of that, they were numbered. In one case, there were seven students with the name 'Ali-Akbar; *ibid.*, 168.
- 69 According to 'Atiyih Haqiqi, who was appointed in 1948–9 as manager of the Sangsar Girls' School, the first location of the boys' school was Masjid-i Mulla Yusuf – named after a Shi'i cleric who turned Baha'i. The Baha'is of Sangsar fixed the abandoned mosque and turned it into the Husayniyyih Boys' School. The school lasted at this location only for five years (till 1921), before being burnt down (together with the Baha'i *Mashriq al-Azkar*) by local zealots, incited by mullas, who had sealed the water supply in order to prevent the place being saved from fire and destruction; see Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 28. One reason for the timing of the school's burning could be the establishment of the *Mashriq al-Azkar* in 1921, which was also burnt down; Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 9.
- 70 Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 164–5. Haqiqi states that the new location was in the residence of Aqa Mirza 'Avaz Muhammad Jazbani (one of the teachers) rather than that of Muhammad Subhani; see Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah' 28.
- 71 Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 164–5.
- 72 Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 10.
- 73 In the first location, together with Mulla 'Abd al-'Ali Mu'allim and Allah-Quli Subhani.

- Later, when the school moved into its second location (in Aziz-Muhammad Subhani's residence), there were other teachers, as explained in Table 1; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 166–7.
- 74 Later in the text Vathiqi mentions the name of Farajullah Fana'iyan. It is not clear whether one of the first names is a printing error, or there were two different people; *ibid.*, 166–7.
- 75 The latter three teachers mentioned were, at the time, studying in their first year of high school; *ibid.*, 167.
- 76 Mulla Yusuf, who was a Shi'i 'alim turned Baha'i, appointed other 'ulama' newly converted to the Baha'i faith, such as Mulla 'Ali-Muhammad and Mulla Muhammad-'Ali Herati Semnani, to teaching and management positions at the school. They were later joined by Mulla 'Abd al-'Ali Shahmirzadi (known as 'Mazlumi'), with the former two being replaced by Mirza Allah-Quli Subhani and 'Avaz Muhammad Jazbani. See Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 9–10.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 10, 12.
- 78 In addition, every morning (probably during Riza Shah's reign) the local branch of the Ministry of Education sent a number of its employees to the school to teach the students national hymns; Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 11.
- 79 At first, notebooks were prepared by the students themselves, but later, after they were marketed in the bazaars, the students were able to buy them as well; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 176.
- 80 Those included *falak*, and beating with a light stick. For more severe punishment, the student had to stand, with one leg up, with a stone in his hand and a paper hat on his head. Such punishments were used also when students were late for school; *ibid.*, 169.
- 81 Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 10.
- 82 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 171–2.
- 83 Baha'is continued, from time to time, to try to reopen a Baha'i school in Sangsar, each time managing to run it only for a few months before the Ministry of Culture closed it down. The last time that the LSA managed, with the assistance of the national assembly, to open the school was in Mihr 1322/ September–October 1943; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1, 302–3.
- 84 Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 28.
- 85 Officially opened under the name *Tarbiyat* after the closure of the Madrasah-yi Pisanirih-yi Husayniyyih in Sangsar (27–8), but before that it operated as a *maktab-khanib*, each year in the house of a different Baha'i (*abiba*); Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 174.
- 86 During the last years of the school being in this location, another room was added, as result of which two classes were taught in each room (six in total); Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 174.
- 87 The 5th and 6th grade classrooms each had a separate room, while the rest shared the remaining two rooms (one for 1st and 2nd, and one for 3rd and 4th grades); *ibid.*, 175.
- 88 One example is the *maktab-khanib* run by Miss Subhani, assisted by her daughter Gulbanu and niece Varqa'iyyih Khanum, in which Baha'i and non-Baha'i students studied. Shahrbanu Pur-Ja'far and Mu'allim Zahra had separate *maktab-khanibs*; *ibid.*, 177–8. According to Haqiqi, in spite of the fact that the Ministry of Education under Riza Shah allowed girls to study at boys' schools, no one, whether Baha'i or non-Baha'i, was ready to do that. See Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 28. This probably explains the girls' education in *maktab-khanibs* till 1927–8, when a separate school for girls opened in Sangsar.
- 89 For more information and a description of these managers, see Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 178–9; Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 203; and Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 10–12.
- 90 All the four Parsas were sisters, with each one taking the role of the teacher after getting married. Thus, Vujdaniyyih served from 1943–4 to 1949–50, Rahmaniyyih from 1949–50 to 1952–3, Rizvaniyyih from 1952–3 to 1953–4, and Munirih from 1953–4 to 1955–6; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 179.

- 91 Al teachers and temporary teachers taught specific subjects, rather than all the subjects of a specific class. For the last years of the school, see Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 28–30; Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 11–12.
- 92 Title of a collection of Arabic and Persian verses by Baha'u'llah, composed in Baghdad in 1857–8.
- 93 Before the school became official, the students were examined twice a year (in the middle and at the end) by the members of the LSA. In the latter years of the school, the students were examined three times – at the end of each trimester; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 176–7.
- 94 To understand the hardships involved in getting an official certificate for the Baha'i girl students graduating from the 6th grade and, at the same time, overcoming the deep-rooted traditional beliefs of their parents, see Haqiqi, 'Yadi az Madrasah', 29–30.
- 95 The gradual change to less physical punishment could be an indication of the change in the attitude towards education and upbringing of children in Baha'i society; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 182.
- 96 Haqiqat-Pazhuh, 'Tahqiq', 10.
- 97 While in *Masabih-i Hidayat* (9: 580) we read that 'during Mr Misbah's period of management, the school had six primary and first-year intermediate classes, and he [Misbah] extended them up to third intermediate [9th grade]'; elsewhere in the same source (2: 467) we learn that '[Mr Misbah] . . . increased the number of classes from 6 to 12.' If the latter reference refers to the number of classes, rather the scale of grades, then the contradiction could be explained; otherwise, one of the references is mistaken.
- 98 Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 105; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 8: 24. It is most likely that while the lower figure (750) was indicative of the number of the students at the boys' school, the higher figure was actually the number at both the boys' and girls' schools; Sulaimani, 24–5.
- 99 Their tuition fees were paid by a group of American Baha'is, who each took responsibility for either one or a number of poor students; Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 103; Thabit, *Sarguzasht* 8, 19. See Baharieh Rouhani Ma'ani, 'The Interdependence of Baha'i Communities: Services of North American Bahai Women to Iran', *Journal of Baha'i Studies* 4, 1 (March–June 1991): 19–46, on the assistance given by the American Baha'is to their co-religionists in Iran.
- 100 Now (2009), Imam Khomeini St.
- 101 These classes were specifically designed for the children of the shah (such as Muhammad Riza), the ministers and aristocratic families (such as the Farman Farmaians), as well as a group of successful students; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 189–90.
- 102 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 195–7. The period of Misbah's management of the school (around WWI to the beginning of 1934) is in contrast to the statement that Misbah 'attended some 34 years to the school's affairs and taught Literature'; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 8, pt. 1, 393. The source of the contradiction could be in confusing Misbah as manager with him being involved in the school's affairs (for example, as a member of the management committee).
- 103 It is not clear when Yazdani filled the post of manager. Vathiqi states that he filled the post for both the boys' and girls' schools for a few months, and most likely during the period that the schools either had not been separated from each other, or when the girls' school lacked a manager; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 198.
- 104 He was not a Baha'i, but apparently had a positive attitude towards the Baha'i faith; *ibid.*, 199–200.
- 105 The latter filled the post of deputy superintendent; *ibid.*, 200.
- 106 He wore a turban; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 571.
- 107 He was blind in both eyes; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 2: 346.
- 108 Limited to one or two hours per week, and composed of simple gymnastic exercises, but it was expected of the students to practise them also out of school; Thabit, *Sarguzasht*, 20.

- 109 Much attention was given to English, mainly due to the presence of a large number of American Baha'i teachers, but unlike the teaching of the French language, which was much more advanced and intensive, English was taught at a more basic level, providing the students with reading skills and translating simple and easy texts; *ibid.*, 21.
- 110 In one of the experiments, the students of the 9th and 10th grades managed to build a telegraph kit composed of both transmitter and receiver; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 190–1.
- 111 Students were charged an extra two months' fees (i.e., 15 *qirans*) for the cost of heating. The heater was placed near the teacher, in the front section of the class, and in winter, those who were unable to pay the heating charge had to move to the back rows; Thabit, *Sarguzasht*, 19–20.
- 112 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 113 It performed first for the girls and the next day for the boys; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 205.
- 114 Some of those interviewed by Vathiqi claimed that no specific uniform was mandatory; *ibid.*, 202. Vathiqi does not provide an explanation for this contradiction, and claims that 'further research is necessary.'
- 115 Thabit, *Sarguzasht*, 8.
- 116 Daughter of Akhund Mulla 'Ali-Akbar Shahmirzadi and spouse of Ibn-Abhar; Arbab, *Akhtaran-i Taban*, 394–5.
- 117 No names were specified; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 223.
- 118 Although Bakhshayish was the person who received the permit to open the school, its opening was mainly the result of the earnest activity of a few Baha'is from Iran (mainly 'Ismat Ta'irih) and the USA (mainly Dr Susan Moody), which was carried out in the framework of the East and West Contact Committee (Anjuman-i Irtibat-i Sharq-u-Qarb), also known as the Persian-American Educational Society (founded January 1910). Only after the necessary funds were raised in the USA for opening a school for at least 50 students, and an American English teacher, Lillian Kappes, had agreed to go to teach there, did the LSA of Tehran entrust the official founding of the school to Bakhshayish; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 432–4; Arbab, *Akhtaran-i Taban*, 302–33; Baharieh Ma'ani, 'Interdependence', 24; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 8: 23; Furutan, *Hikayat-i Dil*, 109.
- 119 The girls' school started with 30–50 students, but at the time of its closure in 1935 it had more than 750 students; Baharieh Ma'ani, 'Interdependence', 30.
- 120 Muslim students made up more than 50 per cent of students; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 242.
- 121 The school's expenses were paid through tuition fees and donations (from Baha'is in Iran and the USA); *ibid.*, 244–5. According to a 1913 report by the executive secretary of the Iran-US Educational Committee, there were 77 students (18 girls and 59 boys) whose tuition fees were covered by 18 LSAs, 3 couples and 67 individuals (45 women and 22 men) from Iran and the USA; Baharieh Ma'ani, 'Interdependence', 26.
- 122 Tafrishi held the managerial position of the girls' (as well as the boys') school before it became an official school, when the post was taken by Bakhshayish; Arbab, *ibid.*, 225.
- 123 During his term as manager of the girls' school, the first cycle of the six primary classes graduated, with 20 of the female students successfully passing the final 6th grade exams and receiving certificates from the Ministry of Education; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 8: 24.
- 124 Kappes arrived in Tehran from the USA in October 1911, at the personal invitation and request of 'Abdu'l-Baha. She began to teach English at both the boys' and girls' schools, and seems to have taken over the management of the girls' school during the general management of both schools under Dr Bakhshayish. During her early years of work she faced many hardships and resentment from the local Baha'is (mainly those on the school's committee) in introducing reforms in the methods and contents of teaching, but after five difficult years, and with new members on the school's committee, who supported her methods and ideas, she finally managed gradually to implement them in both schools. See Clock to Platt,

- 20 November 1916, OPP, USNBA; Baharieh Ma'ani, 'Interdependence', 29. Kappes died from typhus, and it was said of her funeral that 'never before in Iran was it seen that women and men went to a funeral together, and for an American woman; no one expected such honour for a foreigner . . .'; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 234–5.
- 125 She was the first Baha'i woman to be educated in the USA, and was appointed to the job temporarily, until a new manager could be appointed; Baharieh Ma'ani, 'Interdependence', 32.
- 126 She held a PhD in psychology. Since she did not know Persian, a translator accompanied her at school; *ibid.* Arbab (in *Akhtar-i Taban*, 304) claimed that she had a PhD in literature.
- 127 A graduate of Colorado College, she began to teach there in the Dept. of Education. After Dr Coy left the school (1923), the situation deteriorated to such a level that Shoghi Effendi asked the American Baha'is to select a suitable person for the job. It was Miss Sharp who agreed to the challenge. See Baharieh Ma'ani, 'Interdependence', 33–4; Arbab, *Akhtar-i Taban*, 411; *Abang-i Badi'* 22, 5: 156. At the request of Shoghi Effendi, Sharp continued to live in Iran and teach Baha'i children after the closure of the Baha'i schools in 1935, until her death in 1976; Baharieh Ma'ani, 34; Arbab, 412.
- 128 Most teachers were Baha'is. All teachers from 1st to 3rd grades taught all subjects, but from the 4th grade and up there were specific teachers assigned to teach specific subjects. Some of the teachers received a salary and some worked voluntarily; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 240.
- 129 All three were daughters of Khanum Buzurg; *ibid.*
- 130 Probably those of the 4th grade.
- 131 Both resided in the school and were probably a couple; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 241.
- 132 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 243–4.
- 133 All TA and LFTs were donated by Mr Mussavvar Rahmani; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 7: 80; 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Makatib* (8 vols., Tehran: MIMA, 121 BE/1965), 4: 93.
- 134 Similar to a reed pen, but made of metal.
- 135 Either made by the students from large paper sheets or ready-made notebooks.
- 136 This was the only religious activity in the school; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 243.
- 137 The latter two were the brother and sister of the former; *ibid.*, 268.
- 138 The son of Mirza 'Ata'ullah Siarj al-Hukama'; *ibid.*, 271.
- 139 It was the only school in Abadih which had six grades; all other schools in Abadih had only four grades, and that meant that those who wanted to continue their studies after the 4th grade could do so only at the Tarbiyat School. When the first cycle of students graduated from the 6th grade, the school's management and known Baha'is decided to open first the 7th grade, and later the 8th; Anon., 'Madaris-i Baha'i-yi Abadih', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 166 (September 1993): 32–3.
- 140 The school moved into a new location mainly due to the growing number of students, exceeding 100; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 270.
- 141 Also due to the above-mentioned reason; *ibid.*, 271.
- 142 This was actually the site where the heads of the Babi martyrs in the Nayriz and Mirza 'Ali Sardar insurrections were buried. It has been recounted that after their victory over the Babis, the soldiers separated the heads of these martyrs from their bodies, and sought to bring them to Nasir al-Din Shah. Upon their arrival at Abadih, they received an order from Tehran to bury the heads, and they did as ordered (in a desolate place, near the public cemetery). Years later, Mirza 'Ata'ullah Siraj al-Hukama' bought that land, and in 1906, by order of 'Abdu'l-Baha, he constructed subterranean irrigation canals (*qanat*), planted trees and flowers, and built a few rooms there. The site was known afterwards as *Bagh-i Hakim* or *Hadiqat al-Rabman*. See Muhammad-'Ali Fayzi, *Nayriz-i Misbbiz* (Tehran: MIMA, 130 BE/1974), 120–1, 123.
- 143 The latter two wore turbans, but after Riza Shah introduced a new dress code, they wore suits and Pahlavi caps; *ibid.*, 276.

- 144 Anon., 'Madaris-i Baha'i-yi Abadih', 33.
- 145 After the introduction of a new dress code by Riza Shah, the state schools at Abadih introduced khaki uniforms, while the students of the Tarbiyat School wore non-uniformed suits and Pahlavi caps; thus everyone could distinguish the students of the Tarbiyat from the students of the state schools; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 277.
- 146 A Baha'i girls' school was already established in Abadih in 1908. In spite of repeated complaints by local religious leaders against the school (namely, that it was against the *shari'a* on two counts: for being a Baha'i school and for being a girls' school), the school was closed only four years later, in 1913. It seems that the main cause of its closure was not religious pressure (although it probably played some role), but the prestige of Haji Mukhbir al-Saltanih ('Reporter of the State') Hidayat, the new governor of the province of Fars. He regarded the opening of a girls' school in a village (Abadih) before such a school was established in the provincial capital (Shiraz) to be 'premature'. See Anon., 'Shammih'i dar-barih-yi Madaris-i Baha'i-yi Abadih', *Payam-i Baha'i* 164 (July 1993): 33.
- 147 The eldest daughter of Mirza 'Ata'ullah Siraj al-Hukama', and known as *Bibi-yi Kuchik* (little Bibi); Anon., 'Madaris-i Baha'i-yi Abadih', 34.
- 148 At the beginning all teachers were Baha'is, but with the increasing number of students and classes, also some non-Baha'i and nonresident teachers were recruited; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 283.
- 149 Humayun Hisami, 'Yadi az Yik Mu'allim dar Nayriz', *Payam-i Baha'i*, 305 (April 2005): 49.
- 150 He was the governor of Nayriz; *ibid.*, 49.
- 151 Son of Mirza Aqa Buzurg Bazyar; *ibid.*
- 152 Born in 1865 in Qasr al-Dasht near Shiraz. Completed his higher studies in Shiraz. Returned to Qasr al-Dasht, where he became *Imam-i Jama'at*, with agriculture as his second occupation. It was due to his followers asking him about the Babi and Baha'i religions that he started to read about them, and later become a Baha'i himself. Died in 1931–2 in Nayriz. *Ibid.*, 49–50.
- 153 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 154 Also founder of the first LSA in Shiraz; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 291.
- 155 One of the villages of the Bansur provincial village (*dibistan*), of the Babulsar section (*bakhsb*) in Mazandaran.
- 156 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 71.
- 157 In that year the girls were separated from the boys and taken to a rented room within the residence of a certain Isma'il Imaniyan. There, the school's teacher came to teach the girls one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening, with the older students being in charge of the class in between these hours; *ibid.*, 73.
- 158 Only in 1938–9 or 1939–40 was a 5th grade opened in the school, and a 6th grade in 1940–4; in 1937–8 the school became a state school; *ibid.*, 76.
- 159 *Ibid.*, 74–5.
- 160 *Ibid.*, 72. The building and yard were the place of residence of Mansur Isma'ili (son of the founders) and his family. They lived in one of the two rooms of the building, while in the other the school's four grades were taught.
- 161 No special post existed for manager and superintendent and all teachers performed the duties of both manager and superintendent as well; *ibid.*, 72.
- 162 *Payam-i Baha'i*, no. 156 (November 1992), 38; Melody Samimi, *Risalih-yi Sharh-i Ahval-i Ba'zi az Mu'allimin-i Baha'i-yi Mazandaran* (n.p., n.d., 137 BE/1981–2), 70, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 72–3.
- 163 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 74. Ten sheets of the thick paper were sold for 10 *shabis*; *Qalam-i Pahlavi* entered the market in 1935–6, and was actually a kind of fountain pen.
- 164 *Ibid.*, 75–6.

- 165 Ibid., 74–5.
- 166 The name of the school was chosen by ‘Abdu’l-Baha; *ibid.*, 41.
- 167 The school officially opened two years later, in 1913–4; *ibid.*, 35.
- 168 Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 294–5.
- 169 Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’, 37.
- 170 Ibid., 37.
- 171 The *Hazirat al-Quds*, and thus also the school, grew in size during Riza Shah’s rule, when an adjacent piece of land was donated by Aqa Sayfullah Barfurushi (a tobacco merchant) and another Baha’i; *ibid.*, 35–6.
- 172 Ibid., 295.
- 173 Probably became manager after the formal closure of the Baha’i schools; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 1: 427. After the closure of the school, Suhailian was asked by the NSA to run the school as separate classes of 10–15 students; Samimi, *Risalih*, 107, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’, 37.
- 174 Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’, 36.
- 175 Ibid., 36–7; Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 295.
- 176 Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’, 37–8. After a preliminary stage called *Daurib-yi Tabiiyyih* (Pereparatory Period), the students began to study according to a book titled *Sad Dars* (One Hundred Lessons), which contained all the subjects, and they finished it by the end of the 4th grade.
- 177 Ibid., 38.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 295.
- 180 One of the villages of the Bansur *dibistan*, located in the Babulsar section.
- 181 Two Baha’is, Mirza Hasan Nushabadi and Mirza Mihdi Akhavan al-Safa, were among the travellers who visited Baha’i schools, such as the one in Bihnamir; Vathiqi, ‘Tarikhchih’, 297.
- 182 He was a survivor (*Baqiyat al-Sayf*) of the Shaykh Tabarsi incident; Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’, 60.
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 Ibid., 62.
- 185 No special post existed for manager or superintendent and all teachers performed those duties as well; *ibid.*, 61.
- 186 All teachers were Baha’is, except Sayyid Sami’ (the first teacher); *ibid.*, 61–2.
- 187 Ibid., 60–1.
- 188 Ibid., 62–3. *Dars-i Akbalaq* classes were held on Fridays (while Muslim students were off), and attended only by the Baha’i students.
- 189 Ibid., 62.
- 190 Ibid., 63–4. One of those songs read as follows: ‘Ma nau-nahalan jumligi khahan-i ‘irfanim, bih-har kamal-u-ma’rifat ba sar shitabanim, miravim bih-su-yi dabistan, az fazl-i haqq-i ma hamih omidvaranim.’ (‘All of us saplings seek knowledge, we hasten towards perfection and knowledge, we go to the school, we are hopeful of our rightful grace.’)
- 191 Ibid., 64.
- 192 Ibid., 63.
- 193 Ibid., 64. This is quite surprising due to the fact that all *maktab-kanihs* were closed during Riza Shah’s rule. Anyway, the school closed down after 30 years of operation and after a state school opened there.
- 194 Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 76, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’ 126, 178.
- 195 One of the villages of the ‘Aliabad *dibistan*, which is part of the district of the Qa’im-Shahr (Shahi) *shabristan*, located 10 km east of that provincial town.
- 196 Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 76, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih’, 126, 178.
- 197 He was a Baha’i, a member of the LSA of Sari, and one of the landlords (*malik*) of Bur-Khayl-

- i Aratih, who agreed to the LSA of Aratih's request to establish a Baha'i school there. Aqa 'Abd al-Nasir (Imani), the representative of the *malik* and a member of the LSA of Aratih, was chosen to execute the wishes of his *malik* and LSA; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 126.
- 198 Although it is not clearly stated up to which grade the students studied in that school, it is mentioned that 'the students of this school, who years later went to the town's state school, entered directly the 4th or 5th grade after being examined . . .' Iqani, *ibid.*, 130.
- 199 Mirza 'Abd al-Nasir, who moved to Sari with his family, left his empty house and all his estates to the LSA of Bur-Khayl, which decided to reopen the school in his house; *ibid.*, 127.
- 200 For two years before Shahmirzadi (the first teacher) came to Aratih, students from that village attended the Mahfuruzak Baha'i school, but after the Aratih Baha'i school opened they moved to study there, and so did children from the surrounding villages (such as Afrakuti, Saru-Kula, Birinjistanak, Shirgah, and Mahfuruzak), and thus Aratih's Baha'i school's student population grew in number, reaching 35; Shahmirzadi, 'Khatirat', 76, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 130.
- 201 'Abd al-Mithaq was the eldest son of Shahab Shahmirzadi, aged 18 or 19, with some experience in teaching with his father; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 128.
- 202 The son of Aqa 'Abd al-Nasir, who was 17 years of age. He was chosen in order to prevent the closure of the school after 'Abd al-Mithaq stopped teaching there. However, one year after Mirza Ahmad began teaching at the school, it closed down because some of the students left to help their families cultivate the land, while a few other students left to continue their studies in the town. Thus the school remained closed for a while; *ibid.*, 128–9.
- 203 The school closed again after Izad-Panah returned to Kafshgar-Kula, and it remained so for three years, until the arrival of a new teacher, Mir Qasim Iqani. In addition, because a growing number of Baha'i families moved from Aratih to other towns, the Baha'i population of Aratih declined to such a level that the LSA had to close down. *Ibid.*, 129.
- 204 The school closed down again after Mir Qasim left Aratih for Sari. It seems that during his stay in Aratih, not only the school, but also the LSA was established; Samimi, *Risalih*, 62, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 129.
- 205 Probably meaning *dars-i akhlaq*, which was usually given only to Baha'i students; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 130.
- 206 Since Shahmirzadi was a poet, he used to compose poems in praise of Baha'u'llah and the shah, which were sung by the students in the mornings; *ibid.*, 132.
- 207 Given the extensive family of Shahmirzadi, the school's first teacher, the LSA asked the students' parents to try to secure Shahmirzadi's family's needs, first in fuel (wood and coal), second in food (rice and oil) and only then to try and help with other things; *ibid.*, 131.
- 208 Two of the 'Aliabad *dibistan*, which is part of the district of the Qa'im-Shahr (former Shahi *shabristan*; the villages are 3 km apart from each other.
- 209 Assisted by the LSA of 'Aliabad (currently Qa'im-Shahr); Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 141.
- 210 It was during his first year of teaching at the Baha'i school at Chalih-Zamin (c. 1928–9) that 'Ata'ullah 'Ata'iyani received a permit from the Ministry of Education to upgrade the school to a full primary one (i.e., teaching grades 1–6); *ibid.*, 143.
- 211 According to one version, the school moved from Chalih-Zamin to Saru-Kula because the site of the former place needed fundamental repairs, and because there were more Baha'i residents in Saru-Kula than in Chalih-Zamin. Yet, according to another version, when the LSA of Chalih-Zamin decided to sell the Baha'i school's grounds, the school moved to Saru-Kula; *ibid.*, 141–2. It is probable that these two versions are not contradictory, but rather complete each other, for once the Chalih-Zamin LSA was faced with the bad condition of the Baha'i school, it might have preferred to sell the place rather than renovate it, justifying the decision with the larger Baha'i community of Saru-Kula in comparison with that of Chalih-Zamin.

- 212 Samimi, *Risalih*, 72–4, qtd. Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 142–3. It is not clear who was the teacher of the school between 1938–9 and 1941–2, although it is probable that the school was closed during those years.
- 213 Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 141–2, 143.
- 214 At the top of each of these notebooks there was an example of calligraphy, below which was a dotted version of the writing, and the student learned how to write in calligraphic form by connecting those dots. Such notebooks were mainly prevalent during 1931–2/1933–4; *ibid.*, 144.
- 215 Apparently the reason for that was to prevent any fears among the parents of the Muslim students about sending their students to the Baha’i schools. At any rate, it seems that at the time no specific directive was issued preventing Baha’is from participating in the religious ceremonies of other religions; *ibid.*, 145.
- 216 One of the villages of the provincial village of Chahar-Dangih-yi Suritij, in the district of the Sari provincial town, located 90 km south-east of Sari. Of the 60 families living at Ayval during later Qajar period, 25 were Baha’i; *ibid.*, 93.
- 217 Given the animosity of the local clerics and authorities towards the Baha’i population of Ayval, who were mostly peasants working the land of their Muslim landlords, Sardar Jalil rented the entire village for five years, appointed a Baha’i headman (*kadkbuda*), and thus the power of the Baha’is in Ayval increased to such a level that they were able to open a school there. Sarim al-Sultan, the governor of the Chahar-Dangih Suritij *dibistan* sought to dissuade Shahab from attempting to open a school in Ayval, stating that previous attempts had failed; Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 35, 39, 47, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 95–9.
- 218 Only at the opening of the school, but after Muslim students started to attend the school, the number of students increased; Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 102.
- 219 Until Muhammad Jazbani’s term of office as teacher only Baha’i students studied in the school. During his term (three years after the opening of the school) till 1941–2, Muslim students were also taught in Ayval’s Baha’i school, but from 1941 (the allied invasion of Iran, 25 August 1941) to the closure of the school in 1946–7 again only Baha’i students were taught at the school; ‘Ali Ahmadi, *Risalih-yi Jugbrafiya-yi Tarikhi-yi Amr-i Mubarak dar Qariyyih-yi Ayval* (n.p., Shahr al-Jalal 152 BE/April–May 1996), 37, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 101–2. It seems that in the chaos of the post-Allied invasion and post-Riza Shah period, the local Baha’is lost the protection of the state. This encouraged Muslims to attack the Baha’is and loot their property. In these incidents Muhammad Jazbani was shot and killed. As a result, Fazlullah Thabitiyan ceased teaching, while Muhammad Muvvafaqi, his replacement as teacher of the Ayval Baha’i school, decided to teach only Baha’i students; Ahmadi, 37 and 40–9, qtd. in Iqani, *ibid.*, 109–10.
- 220 Ahmadi, *Risalih-yi Jugbrafiya*, 36 and Samimi, *Risalih*, 113, both qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 100–1.
- 221 Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 48, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 99.
- 222 All were prepared by the local Baha’is; Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 47, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 100.
- 223 Given the bad economic situation of many of the Baha’i families of the village, students prepared their own reed pens, reused each thick paper 3–4 times (by washing and drying them), made ink from the soot of the oil lantern, and every 3–4 students shared one book; Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 49, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 104.
- 224 Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 35, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 105.
- 225 The assistance from Sari was 5 *tumans* per month for one year (the first); Sardar Jalil (chair of the LSA of Sari) to LSA of Ayval, Sari, 19 Rabi’ al-Awwal Tanguzu’il [Pig] [probably AH 1342/ s. 1302]/7 ‘Aqrab 1342 [30 October 1923], qtd. in Shahmirzadi, ‘Khatirat’, 49, qtd. in Iqani, ‘Tarikhchih,’ 105–6.
- 226 In Khushih there were some 50 Baha’i and Muslim labourer families; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 9: 414–15.

- 227 Vathiqi, probably inaccurately, states s. 1346, the Gregorian equivalent of which would be 1967–8; 'Tarikhchih', 298. It is, therefore, more likely that she meant the Hijri year.
- 228 Later, one of her students assisted her in teaching; Sulaimani, *Masabih-i Hidayat*, 9: 418. Founder also established *Ibtifalat-i Tazyid-i Ma'lumat* (gatherings to deepening the knowledge of Baha'i spiritual writings), founded a clinic, taught hygiene to the Baha'i families, and performed many other community services; *ibid.*, 417.
- 229 In the framework of these studies, on every Thursday each student, in turn, had to invite the others to the *Hazirat al-Quds* for a short entertainment, to listen to music, and sing both individually and with the others; *ibid.*, 416–17.
- 230 For example, those who needed to be at work at 6 am had to be at school one hour earlier, at 5 am; those who needed to go to the fields at 7 am had to be at school at 6 am; and so on; *ibid.*
- 231 One of the villages of the *dibistan* of 'Aliabad, which is part of the Qa'im-Shahr *shabristan*.
- 232 *Ibid.*, 82. The *takiyyib* was founded by the ancestors of 'Ali-Muhammad Dirakhshaniyan, who turned it into a Baha'i school.
- 233 He was a 17-year-old Baha'i from Zi-Kula (a village near Kafshgar-Kula), and former student at the Kafshgar-Kula Baha'i School. He was chosen hastily, after news arrived of Riza Shah ordering the destruction of the mosques. Samimi attended the school the next day, just before the arrival of the state official, who came to destroy the *takiyyib*. Upon the arrival of the officials, the students were sitting on their benches and studying. When the officials told Samimi that they had come to destroy the place, he explained to them that it was a school and not a *takiyyib*, as they could see for themselves. Thus, the school was saved from destruction. Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 85.
- 234 These are mentioned as having taken place during the term of Payrauvan as teacher; *ibid.*, 86–7. In the framework of 'experimental activities', students made 'field telephones' by using string and boxes.
- 235 *Ibid.*, 88.
- 236 These are recorded from the term of 'Ali-Muhammad Dirakhshaniyan as teacher. It is probable that the motive behind this act (by the Baha'i students) was to remove any fear, on the part of the Muslim residents of the village, about sending their children to the Baha'i school; *ibid.*, 88.
- 237 One of the villages of the *dibistan* of Isfivard-i Shurab, which belongs to the district of the *shabristan* of Sari, located 10 km west of Sari.
- 238 One of the members of the LSA of Mahfuruzak, and the representative of Sardar Jalil therein. It seems that Aqa Mirza 'Ali-Muhammad merely executed the decision of the LSA to found the school, and did so after Sardar Jalil gave his consent; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 116.
- 239 Only at the beginning; the number of students increased when non-Baha'i students from Mahfuruzak, as well as Baha'i students from other localities (such as 'Aliabad, Bur-Khayl and even Sari) began to attend the Baha'i school in Mahfuruzak; *ibid.*, 120. One of those Baha'i students, who attended the Mahfuruzak school together with another four Baha'i students from Bur-Khayl, stated that they used to walk the five km between the two localities every morning, and again in the afternoon, having their lunch at school. On rainy or snowy days, they remained with their relatives in Mahfuruzak; *ibid.*, 119.
- 240 Although the school also had non-Baha'i students, all students had to respect its regulations, which were mainly Baha'i (for example, how to behave during the reading of the Baha'i prayers, reading every morning; etc.); *ibid.*, 121, 122.
- 241 He was the first and the only manager/superintendent; after his death, no new manager or superintendent was appointed, and the LSA took control of the school's affairs; *ibid.*, 117.
- 242 At the time, Yazdi was concurrently teaching at the 'Arabkhayl Baha'i school; *ibid.*, 118.

- However, the school closed down for a short while (after Mirza 'Ali-Muhammad's death and Yazdi's illness), but reopened after Mirza Qasim Iqani, a 22-year-old student in the school, accepted the LSA's invitation to become the school's teacher; *ibid.*
- 243 After six years of service as a teacher at the school, Mirza Qasim volunteered to go to Bur-Khayl-i Aratih, another village, in order to help that village's Baha'i community. Thus, the Mahfuruzak school closed down again for three years, after which Qudsiyyih 'Alaviyan came from Sari; *ibid.*
- 244 Qudsiyyih Khanum 'Alaviyan was, at the time of her arrival in Mahfuruzak, a teacher in the Sari state school. She therefore divided her time between the two localities, going from Sari to Mahfuruzak every Thursday evening, gathering the Baha'i students and teaching them on Fridays, and returning to Sari on Saturday morning. She also dedicated her entire summer vacation to teaching the Mahfuruzak Baha'i children, striving first and foremost to bring those students with partial learning to complete the 6th grade. In addition to following the MEC, she also taught the students Baha'i classes and was very successful in her endeavours. Thus, the Mahfuruzak Baha'i school never returned to its regular full-week study; *ibid.*, 118–19.
- 245 *Ibid.*, 120–1.
- 246 One of the villages of the Chahar-Dangih Surtij *dibistan*, which is part of the district of the Sari *shabristan*.
- 247 This was the number of the first year, with the number of students rising to seven (second year), with a few additions in the following years; Iqani, *ibid.*, 152.
- 248 Qunbari was 15 years old when he started teaching at the school. After he left the school, it closed for six months before a new teacher, Khatibi, arrived. Samimi, *Risalih*, 104, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 151.
- 249 Notebooks were made at Sari, while reed pens were locally made, with ink made from the soot of the oil lanterns; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 153.
- 250 *Ibid.*, 154.
- 251 It was the first modern school in Sari; *Ruznamib-yi Majd al-Islam*, 34 (AH 1325/1907), qtd. in Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*, 2: 231.
- 252 At the time, he was the chair (*nazim*) of the LSA of Sari; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 23.
- 253 The number of students was constantly on the rise; *ibid.*
- 254 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 255 *Ruznamib-yi Majd al-Islam*, 34 (AH 1325/1907), qtd. in Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*, 2: 231.
- 256 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 30.
- 257 *Ibid.*
- 258 Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*, 2: 232–3.
- 259 *Ibid.*, 232.
- 260 Opened after a number of students, from the closed Salariyyih school, who were interested in continuing their studies, joined the Anjuman-i Haqiqat; *Ruznamib-yi Majd al-Islam*, 34 (AH 1325/1907), qtd. in Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*, 2: 231.
- 261 Founder and head of Anjuman-i Haqiqat in Sari and secretary of the LSA of Sari; Mahjuri, *ibid.*, 2: 230.
- 262 The number of students in all the Baha'i schools opened after the closure of Salariyyih is not known exactly, but was much lower than that of Salariyyih; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 28.
- 263 It is not clear whether the author of the telegram, which appeared in the *Majd al-Islam* newspaper, meant 'the old school' (as opposed to the modern school), or 'the former school' (namely the Salariyyih or the school in its first location), or simply a school bearing that name.
- 264 Contained most of the staff of the Salariyyih School; *Ruznamib-yi Majd al-Islam*, 34 (AH 1325/1907), qtd. in Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*, 2: 231.
- 265 *Ruznamib-yi Majd al-Islam*, 34 (AH 1325/1907), qtd. in Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*.

- 266 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 30.
- 267 Shahmirzadi, 'Khatirat', 77, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 26, 163.
- 268 In about 1927–8, Mr Yadullah Tuysirkani, head of the Sari Ministry of Education, decided to transfer grades 5–6 of the Ta'yid School to the Nusrat-i Ahmadiyyih State School, due to the low number of students in those grades in both schools. Thus, the Ta'yid became a 4-grade school; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 31–2. After the closure/nationalization of the school, its name changed to *Madrasah-yi Danish*.
- 269 In 1925–6 the number of students in the 4th–6th grades did not exceed eight, only three of whom were Baha'is; *ibid.*, 29.
- 270 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 271 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 272 *Ibid.*
- 273 It is not mentioned whether it was a royal or provincial order or why such an order was issued; *Ruznamih-iMajd al-Islam*, 34 (AH 1325/1907), qtd. in Mahjuri, *Tarikh-i Mazandaran*, 2: 231.
- 274 Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 30.
- 275 *Ibid.*
- 276 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 277 Mazandarani (in *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 2: 699–700) mentions that two Baha'is, Mirza Hasan Nushabadi and Mirza Mihdi Akhavan al-Safa, were among the travellers who visited Baha'i school such as the one in Shahmirzad.
- 278 One of the villages of the *dibistan* of Miyan-Rud-i 'Ulya, which is part of the *shabristan* of Nur, and located in its mountainous part (south of the town of Nur).
- 279 Fazlullah Ibn Muhammad Hasan Takiri Nizam al-Mamalik, *Khatirat-i Nizam al-Mamalik* (n.p., n.d.), 21, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 48.
- 280 *Ibid.*
- 281 The number of the Baha'i believers in Takir was so few that when the school opened, the only Baha'i student was Mirza Fazlullah's own son; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 49.
- 282 *Ibid.*
- 283 Baha'u'llah's uncle. Ourangi himself was the great-grandson of Mirza Muhammad-Hasan, Baha'u'llah's cousin; Mazandarani, *Zubur al-Haqq*, 8, pt. 2: 881.
- 284 Takiri, *Khatirat*, 21, qtd. in Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 48.
- 285 Teachers performed the duties of manager and superintendent; Iqani, 'Tarikhchih', 50.
- 286 *Ibid.*
- 287 *Ibid.*, 51.
- 288 *Ibid.*, 50–1.
- 289 *Ibid.* 51.
- 290 The school was registered at the Ministry of Education under the name of Haji Musa Mubin; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 311.
- 291 Mainly the following: Haj Mirza Yuhana Khan Hafizi, Mirza 'Ali Khan Firuz, Mirza Ya'qub and Mirza Ishaq 'Ahdiyyih, Safi Shakir, Haji Mirza Ilyahuzadih, Ahmad Razi, Shukrullah Javid, Mr Vahdat, Ya'qub Mu'ayyad, 'Abdullah Katira'i, Musa Ihsani, Nad[ir]-'Ali Kauthari, Izra Munjazib, Mr Mithaqi, Mr Farid, Haji Yusuf Munfarid, Mirza Ishaq Anvar, Haji Musa Mubin, Haji Yadullah Muqbil, Juda [Yahuda] Muqbil, Hakim Harun, Dr Yadullah Arfa', Mr Rafat and Mr Nauvidi; *ibid.*, 309–10.
- 292 Site was bought and school built by local Baha'is; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 310.
- 293 Possibly together with the Mauhibat Girls' School.
- 294 This hall was the local *Hazirat al-Quds*, in which Baha'is gathered; Vathiqi, *ibid.*
- 295 Four or five cups were attached to these taps, in order to enable Baha'is and Muslims to use separate cups. The school also had a running-water system; *ibid.*

- 296 Ishraq-Khavari names a few other managers as well: Fazil Shirazi, Nur al-Din Mumtazi, Ishaq 'Ama'i, Hidayatullah Furuhar, 'Abbas Mihr-Ayin, and Dr Masih Khan Arjumand; see Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 307.
- 297 A Muslim cleric from Malayir, who turned Baha'i; Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 323–4.
- 298 Could be the same as Adib Mujarrid (Musa), mentioned earlier in the list of teachers.
- 299 There were other teachers, from other faiths, teaching at the school; Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 308.
- 300 They were in charge of the cleaning, assisting in executing physical punishment, checking up on absentee students (and forcibly bringing them to school, if the reason for their absence was found unjustified), preparing the fuel for the heaters and lighting them in winter-time, etc.; Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 325–6. Some of them were Muslims; see Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 308.
- 301 Students reached such a level of English and French that they were able, for example, to lecture in those languages on the 12 Baha'i principles (*Ta'alim-i Davazdab-ganib*); Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 316.
- 302 It is claimed that other (non-Baha'i) schools in Hamadan, such as the Jewish Alliance, the Muslim Nusrat and Shirafat, and the American College, adopted this measure, introduced into Ta'yid by Ahmad Razi, and ordered their students to gather on specific days of the week to hear such speeches; *ibid.*, 319.
- 303 Established three years after the school opened. Through donations of books and money, the library contained 12,000 books in Persian, Arabic and other languages. Non-Baha'i also used the library, which greatly added to the fame and greatness of the school. Mr Lalihzari was in charge of the library. The library was registered as an incorporated company, purely in order to prevent its closure if the Baha'i schools were to close; *ibid.*, 311–12.
- 304 The laboratory equipment included a telegraph kit, an electric bell machine, and other tools; *ibid.*, 319–20.
- 305 Duties of the committee included founding the school, administering its affairs, controlling the school's budget and taking the necessary steps to provide the students with educational opportunities; *ibid.*, 309.
- 306 Uniform was composed of grey suit, buttoned-up collars (*yaqib-yi bastib*), made of the famous *Kaziruni* cloth; the name of the school was embroidered over the collar, and a green nine-feathered silver tag fixed in the hat; *ibid.*, 326.
- 307 Part of the scripts were written by Razi, while the students and other Baha'is played the different roles; young Baha'is prepared the scenery and decorated it, strung electric wires, hung carpets on walls, arranged the chairs, etc. All was done voluntarily. Local state officials, such as police and the Ministry of Education, were invited, and Baha'i, Jewish and Muslim people bought tickets. The following plays, as well as others, were performed in the school shows: *Pir-i Mard-i Khasis* (the Mean Old Man), *Bizhan va Manizhib*, (Bizhan and Manizhib), *Gulba-yi Rangarang* (Colourful Flowers), *Sayyah-i Mustafarang* (Westernizing Traveller); *ibid.*, 327–9.
- 308 Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 310.
- 309 The school was named by 'Abdu'l-Baha himself; *ibid.*, 128.
- 310 Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 127–9.
- 311 Two witnesses provided two different estimates of the school's second site; *ibid.*, 338–9.
- 312 Managers usually came from Tehran and were graduates of the Tarbiyat School; Vathiqli, 'Tarikhchih', 340.
- 313 Daughter of the well-known Mirza Na'im Isfahani and wife of Mirza Muhsin Dabir Mu'ayyad, who was a teacher at the Ta'yid Boys' School in Hamadan; see Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri-yi Hamadan*, 128–9.

- 314 Sadr al-Muluk and Shams al-Muluk Mauzun were sisters, both daughters of Prince Mihdi-Quli Mirza Mauzun; *ibid.*, 129.
- 315 Apart from the latter two, all the teachers were Baha'is; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 342. It is obvious from these names, that at least some of the teachers were from Jewish background (especially those with the name of *Tuba* [*Tova* in Hebrew]).
- 316 They were in charge of cleaning, following up on absentee students, securing supply of fuel for heaters, etc.; *ibid.*, 343.
- 317 Muslim female students did not care much for sports, which they regarded as a kind of dancing. Thus, older Muslim female students did some light exercises, while only the little ones participated in competitions and played with skipping-ropes; *ibid.*, 339.
- 318 The name *Tarbiyat* was chosen for this school because its founder, Hajjiyyih Ta'if al-Haramayn, had studied at the Madrasah-yi Tarbiyat-i Tehran; *ibid.*, 360.
- 319 Compared to other provinces, Yazd contained the biggest number of Baha'is schools. In addition to the four (three girls' and one boys') schools in the city of Yazd, there were other Baha'i schools in the villages, and this fact is quite noteworthy in light of the local population's extreme religious fanaticism; *ibid.*, 356.
- 320 Sifidvash dates the foundation of this school earlier, to 1911, 'in the house of a famous person'; *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 152. Six years later, in 1917, it turned, by permission from the Yazd branch of the Ministry of Education, into a 6-grade primary school.
- 321 This title (meaning 'circumambulator of the two holy places') was given to her by 'Abdu'l-Baha because she visited both the *Ka'ba* and 'Abdu'l-Baha in the Holy Land; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 359.
- 322 At the beginning the school was only a primary one; but some years later Hajjiyyih Khanum managed to receive a permit to teach also at the intermediary level (grades 7–9). However, no student reached the 9th grade before the closure of the school in the mid-1930s. *Ibid.*, 360.
- 323 Some of the students used to attend the school from neighbouring villages. They used to stay at Hajjiyyih Khanum's home during the week and return to their homes for the weekends; *ibid.*, 366.
- 324 The latter three had graduated from the very same school before becoming teachers there; *ibid.*, 365.
- 325 These were taught only in the 7th grade; *ibid.* Vathiqi does not mention when the school received a permit to teach at higher levels than the six primary classes. The fact that those courses were taught only for the duration of one year may indicate that it was the last year before the closure of the school.
- 326 Meaning '500 Problems' and '1,000 Problems'.
- 327 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 362. *Siyaaq* is a system of notation and accounting based on Arabic words.
- 328 Only then did sports become regulated in the schools of Yazd; *ibid.*
- 329 *Ibid.* By 'special person' was probably meant a sports teacher, who taught at different schools, making rounds regularly (probably once a week).
- 330 *Ibid.*, 363. Since no sewing machines were available at the time, sewing was done only by hand.
- 331 Those were made either of straw paper (and therefore were not of high quality), or of regular paper, turned into notebooks; *ibid.* 362.
- 332 The only boys' school in Yazd; *ibid.*, 371.
- 333 According to Sifidvash the school was founded in 1927; *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 154.
- 334 Classrooms were divided into two by a cloth, in order to increase the number of classes; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 373.
- 335 The school seems to have been founded officially at this location; *ibid.*, 374.

- 336 Ibid., 375. The range could be explained by one witness providing the size of the building, while the other estimated the entire grounds of the school (including the yard and the sports field).
- 337 During Ramadan these hours and shifts changed into one shift, from 10 to 3; *ibid.*, 379.
- 338 According to Sifidvash the school was founded a few years earlier, in 1927; *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 153.
- 339 During a visit to this school in 1932–3, a Western female traveller attested that ‘the pupils belonged to all the local sects, but most of them had a leather case with a charm round their necks . . .’; Merritt-Hawkes, *Persia: Romance and Reality*, 144. This probably means that apart from Baha’is, there were also Muslims, Zoroastrians and Jews in the school. As to the charm, it was most probably the Baha’i charm of ‘Ya Baha’ al-Abha’.
- 340 There were probably other teachers as well, but no additional name is mentioned; Vathiqli, ‘Tarikhchih’, 386.
- 341 During her visit to the school, Merritt-Hawkes attested that when a man appeared in the school, ‘the children over eight raced away to get their *chadars* [*chadurs*], which were neatly folded up on shelves.’ The Baha’i teachers of the school told that traveller that ‘[Baha’u’llah] had wished the veil to be abolished, but they thought that neither men nor women were yet ready and that it would be ten to twenty years before either could look at the other without lascivious and passionate thoughts’; *ibid.* Wearing *chadurs* in public places was forbidden by Riza Shah only a few years later, in 1936.
- 342 The reason for the founding of this school was that most of the Baha’i girls used to study in the Protestant school and had, therefore, to follow Christian celebrations and customs; Vathiqli, ‘Tarikhchih’, 388.
- 343 Sifidvash dates the foundation of the school a few years earlier, in 1921; *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 153.
- 344 According to Sifidvash this second location belonged to one of the first and leading Baha’is of Yazd, Arbab Hushang, who renovated his ancestral home for that purpose, and even endowed part of his lands for this school as *waqf*; *Pishgaman-i Parsi-Nizbad*, 153.
- 345 Apparently, given the extreme summer heat, students studied only on the lower floor, moving to the second floor in the winter; Vathiqli, ‘Tarikhchih’, 389.
- 346 Later, the adjacent house was also purchased by Hushangi, and thus the school came to have two yards; *ibid.*
- 347 All teachers taught all the courses of the grade to which they were assigned; *ibid.*, 392.
- 348 Apart from the latter two, who were Zoroastrian, all the rest were Baha’i; *ibid.*
- 349 Taught, at times, by young Baha’is, who came to the school to teach it; *ibid.*, 390.
- 350 Named *Rustami* after founder’s son, Rustam, who died young; *ibid.*, 404.
- 351 Those who were interested in receiving a 6th-grade graduation certificate went, after completing the 5th grade, to Yazd to the Hushangi School, registered for the 6th grade, and took the national examinations for that purpose; *ibid.*, 404–5.
- 352 Was registered as a trustee company (*shirkat-i umana’*), and after the closure of the school, the site was used as *Hazirat al-Quds*; *ibid.*, 409.
- 353 *Ibid.*

Table 2

- 1 Vathiqli, ‘Tarikhchih’, 413–16.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 413–14.
- 3 *The Baha’i World* (vol. 5 [1932–4], 119) states that there was a Tarbiyat Kindergarten under the direction of Ishraqiyiyh Khanum Zabih. It is unclear whether this is another kindergarten or the same as Tahiyiyh (or Mithaqiyiyh).

- 4 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 416–17.
- 5 It was a primary school for the Ta'yid School; Amir Thabiti, 'Khatirati az Jinab 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq-Khavari', *Payam-i Baba'i*, 158 (January 1993): 43.
- 6 It was named *Himmati* after a young boy by the name of Shahriyar Himmati, who died in his early youth; Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 417. It continued to be named the Ardashir Himmati School also after its closure and nationalization by the state; 418.
- 7 *The Baba'i World*, vol. 5 (1932–4), 119.
- 8 While Vathiqi states that the number of children in the kindergarten was 50, Merritt-Hawkes estimated the number at 30. See Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 418; Merritt-Hawkes, *Persia: Romance and Reality*, 152.
- 9 Songs such as 'We are children of the twentieth century/ we go to school every day/ we learn Persian/ we are the children of the future/ we must be clean and honest for our country's sake'; or: 'We are the children of the school/ we are like flowers in a garden/ we go out into the garden/ to play and to run . . .'; Merritt-Hawkes, *ibid.*, 152–3. Merritt-Hawkes's book is the main source for the information on the kindergarten in Kirman, and has been translated into Persian as *Iran: Afsanib va Vaqi'iyat*, by Muhammad-Husayn Nazari-Nizhad, Muhammad-Taqi Akbari and Ahmad Ghani (Mashhad?: Nashr-i Mu'avinat-i Farhangi-yi Ustan-i Quds-i Razavi, n.d.).
- 10 Vathiqi, 'Tarikhchih', 421–4.
- 11 Where the children slept for one hour in the afternoons, after which they went to play; *ibid.*, 423.
- 12 Every child had a personal glass, with its name written on it; *ibid.*, 423.
- 13 In the playground there was a sandy area, where the children played with shovels and buckets. In the playground the children were also taught how to ride a tricycle, brought from Bombay (where there is a considerable community of Zoroastrians); *ibid.*
- 14 Miss Mishkiyan was removed from her post in 1938–9, the official reason being that she was from Ashgabat, and not from Yazd; *ibid.*, 424.
- 15 Each child had a personal weekly calendar, composed of six squares for each day of the week on which they attended the kindergarten. For a higher degree of cleanliness, a square was painted red; for dirtiness, blue; and for medium cleanliness, half red and half blue. Those who had red squares all week received a prize and each would be introduced to the others as 'the clean child'; *ibid.*, 422.
- 16 There were two dolls in the class, in opposite corners: one of them was complete, with nice clothes, while the other doll was broken. Children who excelled or were well behaved were given the complete doll to play with for an hour as a reward, while the broken doll was given as punishment; *ibid.*
- 17 These were located behind a glass exhibition case in the kindergarten's hall; *ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Once the kindergarten was even visited by the minister of education himself, 'Ali-Ashgar Hikmat, who apparently had not seen a kindergarten before. He was so impressed with the Baha'i kindergarten that after his return to Tehran he sent Miss Mishkiyan a first-class gold medal (*madal-i darajih yik-i tala*); *ibid.*, 423–4.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 423.
- 21 Momen, 'Baha'i Schools in Iran', in *The Baba'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 111.
- 22 Brookshaw, 'Instructive Encouragement', in *The Baba'is of Iran*, ed. Brookshaw and Fazel, 66.

Table 3

- 1 While 'Abbas Thabit claims (in *Tarikhchih*, 29, 130), that Sabbar Farman Farmaian studied at Tarbiyat (providing, in addition, some photos), Sattareh Farman Farmaian, Sabbar's sister,

maintained that this particular brother of hers did not study at that school. When I sent her the photos of the student claimed by Thabit to be Sabbar, she said that the photo was of Manuchihr Farman Farmaian, another of her brothers, who had indeed studied at Tarbiyat. Communication with Sattareh Farman Farmaian on this issue was done through e-mail correspondence during September 2006.

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